

A Short ACCOUNT
Of the COMPLAINTS,
^{AND}
Cruel PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
PROTESTANTS

In the Kingdom of FRANCE.

WITH
A Useful and Politick Preface, and
also an Account of the Torments
the French Protestants endure
Aboard the Gallies.

There is likewise K. Charles II. and
K. William and Qu. Mary's Decla-
rations at length, for the encoura-
ging of French Protestants to Trans-
port themselves into this Kingdom.

The Third Edition.

London, Printed by W. Redmayne, and to
be Sold by B. Bragge at the Black
Swan in Pater-noster-row. 1708.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD,
His Grace the Lord Archbishop
OF
CANTERBURY
And the Right Reverend Father in God
The Lord Bishop
OF
LONDON.

MY LORDS,

I Have newly caused to be translated into
English the Book, intituled, The Com-
plaints of the Protestants in the King-
dom of France, with this Design, to
Great-Britain know and understand
Examples, how it is, that Popery, when

AU
TRÈS-REVEREND
PERE EN DIEU,
Sa Grace le Seigneur Archevêque
DE
CANTERBURY,
Et le Très-Reverend Pere en Dieu,
Le Seigneur Evêque
DE
LONDRES.

MES SEIGNEURS,
J'AI nouvellement fait Traduire en
Anglois, le Livre (qui a pour Titre,
Des Plaintes des Protestans Cruellement Oppri-
més dans le Royaume de France) afin de
faire connoître particulièrement à la
Grande Bretagne, par des Exemples, de
A 2, qu'elle

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has the Power on its Side, uses to proceed against all them that are not of its own Communion: and how much this united Kingdom is therefore indebted to the Divine Goodness for having both hitherto preserved, and for Posterity also secured it from those great Evils, which so considerable a Part of those professing with them the same Holy Faith have suffered, and still do suffer, in other Parts.

This, YOUR LORDSHIPS know perfectly well; and have no need to be told over again: But the Generality of People in this Nation are greatly Ignorant in this Matter, and can hardly be perswaded to believe the Excess, Violence and Barbarity which by our Enemies has been and still is used. Wherefore for the Information of such, and for the Disappointment of the Emissaries of France, who would gladly have the Remembrance hereof to be lost; I have thought it might be very proper to address to YOUR LORDSHIPS the Part I have in this valuable Piece; which is the Translation of it; and lay before your Eyes the matters which it contains, both because 'tis well known how YOUR LORDSHIPS have, as with all your might, so with a Success answerable, laboured to dissipate the

Storm

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qu'elle façon le Papisme agit, lors que la force est de son côté, envers ceux qui ne sont pas de la Communion; Et combien elle est redevable à la bonté de Dieu, de l'avoir jusques ici garantie, & à l'avenir assurée contre les grands maux qu'une Partie considerable de ceux qui sont profession de la même Sainte Foy, ont souffert & souffrent encore ailleurs.

VOS GRANDEURS le savent parfaitement, & à leur égard il ne seroit pas necessaire de le publier. Mais en general la plupart du Peuple dans cette Nation l'ignore, & ne se peuvent persuader l'excez de la violence & de la Barbarie qui a été en usage, & qui se continue encore par les ennemis des Protestans. C'est pourquoi pour l'apprendre à ceux qui ne le savent pas, & pour frustrer les Emisaires de France qui en veulent faire perdre le souvenir. J'ai crû qu'il étoit très-convenable de Dedier à VOS GRANDEURS, la part que j'ai dans cet Excellent Ouvrage, qui est la Traduction d'icelui; & remettre devant vos yeux les Faits qu'il contient, parce que l'on sçait que VOS GRANDEURS, ont de tout leur pouvoir; & très-effi-

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Storm, which lately seem'd to gather here, and threaten this flourishing Kingdom with the like calamities: And how you have moreover greatly refresh'd and comforted the French Protestants, who fled hither for Refuge, as became true Fathers in Christ.

YOUR LORDSHIPS are not ignorant, how they then made their Complaints, and their Protestations against the Persecution of France: Nor can it be a Secret to you what was done here, consequently to the publishing this true and faithful Memorial of theirs, to give a just Representation of their State. But the Copies hereof were not only suppressed, but prohibited so strictly, and in such a manner watch'd, as they were hardly ever known to this Nation, as I can find. And hence it is that the very Children of the Refugees themselves, who either came hither very Young, or else are Born here, do not know the Cause of the Exile and Transmigration of their Fathers and Mothers; a thing which they certainly ought to be well inform'd of, and never to forget. It is with a Prospect of perpetuating to future Generations the sad Remembrance of the Subversion of the State and Condition of the Protestants of France, by the unjust Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that one
who

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acement travaillé à dissiper l'Orage, qui
menacoit ce florissant Roïaume, de sem-
blables malheurs: Et d'ailleurs beaucoup
consolé les Protestans François, qui sont
venus s'y Refugier, comme des verita-
bles Peres en Christ.

VOS GRANDEURS, n'ignorent pas
que les Refugiez firent leurs Plaintes
& leurs Protestations contre la Perse-
cution de France; Et savent aussi que les
Memoires qu'ils firent sur cela, ne fu-
rent pas seulement Suprimés, mais aussi
Prohibés, de telle maniere qu'ils n'ont
presque pas été connus de cette Na-
tion, ainsi qu'il se manifeste par l'évene-
ment. Et de là vient que les Enfans
des Refugiez mêmes qui sont venus
dans ce Pais en bas Age; Et ceux qui
ont nez dans le Refuge, ne savent pas
la Cause de la Transmigration de leur
Peres & Meres; (chose qu'ils doivent
bien savoir, & n'oublier jamais.) C'est
donc dans la veüe de continuer aux Gé-
nerations Futures, le triste souvenir du
bouleversement de l'estat & condition
des Protestans de France, (par l'Injuste
revocation de l'Edit de Nantes.) Qu'un
particulier Refugié ici a trouvé à pro-

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who is a Refugee here has caused the said Book, containing their Complaints and Protestsations to be reprinted for all the rest.

And whereas by a Declaration of King Charles II. of the 28th of July 1681, YOUR LORDSHIPS are mark'd out expressly by the Dignities of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, on purpose to receive the Petitions and Complaints of the distressed Refugees, in order to be communicated as need shall require; YOUR LORDSHIPS are therefore humbly supplicated to cast your Eyes upon the Preface of this Book, which shews the several Estates of these poor persecuted People, as it is at present, to which either by the Lapse of Time; or by the Functure of War, or both, great Numbers of them have been reduced.

The Poor among them are hence forc'd to cry again for your Help at this time: And they presume also to promise themselves the same from your great Charity, and that from you, Her Majesty shall be informed of the pressing Necessity there is to recommend it to her British Parliament, in Order to the Relief of their extreme Poverty and Indigence. And this they are the more encouraged to, since under the late Reign the House

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pos de faire r'Imprimer le Livre qui contient les Plaintes & les Protestations de tous les autres.

Et comme par une Declaration du Roy Charles II. du 28. Juillet 1681. VOS GRANDEURS sont indiquées par les Dignités d'Archevêque de Canterbury, & Evêque de Londres, nommément pour recevoir les Requêtes & les Plaintes des Refugiez qui sont en détresse, afin de les communiquer où le besoin seroit. VOS GRANDEURS sont très-humblement Supplées de jeter les yeux sur la Preface de ce Livre (qui marque les differents Etats de ces Persecutés, que le Laps du tems, & la conjoncture de la Guerre,) ont réduit à present à une grande pauvreté.

Les pauvres d'entr'eux reclament à cette heure vôtre secours, & osent se promettre de vôtre grande Charité, que sa Majesté sera informée de la grande nécessité qu'il y a de les recommander à son Parlement, pour remedier à l'extreme indigence qu'ils endurent. Et c'est ce que les Refugiez esperent, d'autant plus, qu'il se voit, que sous le dernier Regne, la Maison des Communes n'a

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of Commons did make no Scruple to acknowledge, and publickly notify, that all things consider'd, these Poor were not any Charge at all to the Nation: And, since that, the House of Lords also under the present happy Reign of Her Majesty has declar'd to the Kingdom, that the foreign Protestants are profitable to it.

Nevertheless, the Old, the Sick, the Widows, the Orphans, and all those that are incapable among them to get their Livelihood, being by the long Continuance of the Persecution in the Country of their Nativity left destitute of every thing, do here implore as with one common Voice the Pity of **YOUR LORDSHIPS**, and beseech your Help, so far at least, as to request in their Favor from this charitable Nation the Conveniences of Life in so abounding a Country as this, where Providence has cast

them. † And for as much as Human Nature has need of being sustained by Food and Raiment no less in time of War than in time of Peace, they hope

that **YOUR LORDSHIPS** will be pleased, notwithstanding the great Occasions of the Nation, to solicit for them the Means where-
by

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pas fait difficulté de reconnoître, & publiquement notifié, que toutes choses considérées, ces Pauvres n'étoient pas à charge à la Nation. Et depuis, la Maison des Seigneurs, sous l'heureux Regne de sa Majesté, a déclaré publiquement, *Que les Protestans Etrangers luy étoient utiles.*

Quoi qu'il en soit, les Vieux, les Malades, les Veuves, les Orphelins, & tous ceux qui ne peuvent gagner leur vie, destitués de tout par la longue durée de la Persecution dans le Pais de leur Naissance, implorent dans celui-cy, d'une commune voix, celle de VOS GRANDEURS, pour demander en leur faveur à cette Charitable Nation, la Vie & le Vêtement dans ce Pais abondant où la Providence les a conduits. † Et parce que la nature humaine est assujettie à l'usage des Aliens dans le tems de la Guerre, comme dans celui de la Paix; Ils esperent que VOS GRANDEURS, (nonobstant les grandes depenses de la Nation,) voudront solliciter pour eux, les moyens de subsister

† Vos Grandeurs
verront leur nombre,
Noms, Ages, Qualitez,
& Habitations,
par une Nouvelle
Liste qui se prepare.

en

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by they may subsist, both now and hereafter; as being Objects spoil'd of their Goods, and all they had in the World, who have been constrained to forsake their ungrateful Country, because they would not bow the Knee to Baal.

For these Reasons, and the Royal Declaration that I alledge, which never has been altered, I take the Liberty to put this Book, which contains a short but faithful Recital of matter of Fact, under the Protection of the Two most worthy Prelates of Europe. All the Refugees have experienced in general the Effects of your Christian Compassion and Generosity: They desire gratefully to acknowledge as much, both before God and before the World. What you, my LORDS, have done for them so honourably, and so piously, they must all with one Mouth and one Heart needs own and confess. May YOUR LORDSHIPS continue to them always the same Good Will and Affection, and also survive their Miseries.

Now I cannot here mention their Acknowledgments, without being oblig'd to speak at the same time of your Benefactions: And here indeed would be the Place to publish them to the World, for the Promotion of Piety and Charity; but this I dare not undertake, but
shall

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en tout tems, comme des objets depouil-
lés de leurs Biens, qui ont été contraints
à abandonner leur ingrate Patrie, pour
ne pas fléchir le genou devant Baal.

Par ces Raïsons, & la Declaration
Royale que j'alegue, (qui n'a jamais été
révoquée,) je prends la liberté de mettre
ce Livre contenant le recit des faits suc-
cincts & fidelles dont il s'agit, sous la Pro-
tection des deux plus dignes Prelats de
l'Europe ; tous les Refugiez y sont déjà,
ils ont éprouvé les effets de votre com-
passion Chrétienne, & de votre genero-
sité exemplaire. Aussi reconnoissent-ils
devant Dieu & le Monde, les biens que
VOS GRANDEURS leur ont si hono-
rablement & pieusement fait, comme ils
vous en confessent de cœur & de bouche.
Puisse VOS GRANDEURS, leur
continuer toujours votre bien Veillance,
et leur survivre à leur misere.

Je ne faurois parler de la reconnois-
sance des Refugiez en general, sans en
même tems être dans l'obligation de
vous en parler de vos Bienfaits. Et ce seroit
ici le lieu de les Publier, à l'avance-
ment de la Pieté, & de la Charité.

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Mais

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shall leave to some others to perform who can
do it better. In the mean while least my Sil-
lence on this Head might be of bad Con-
sequence and Example, I could not but give
this small Hint: Tho' I forbear, **YOUR**
LORDSHIPS may be assured there is
Person has a deeper Sense than I of your em-
inent Qualities and Services in Favour both
of Religion and of the State.

I am

Your Lordships

Most Humble,

Faithful and

Obedient Servant.

HILARY RENEU

Th

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mais je ne l'entreprends pas, & je laisse
à d'autres de le faire dignement. Ce-
pendant comme mon silence à cet
égard, est de très-mauvais exemple,
j'assure pourtant qu'il n'y a personne
qui ait pénétré que moy de vos Emi-
nentes Qualités & Services en faveur
de la Religion & de l'Etat.

Je suis

DE VOS GRANDEURS,

Le Très-humble

Fidelle & Obeïss-

sant Serviteur,

HILARY RENEU.

The PRINTER
TO
Mr. HILARY RENEU

S I R,

I Humbly desire you to excuse the Liberty I take of putting your Name to a New Edition of an Anonymous Piece, which I have Printed for you twice already.

The Two first Impressions (tho' depriv'd of the Advantage of your Name) which your Modesty had all along conceal'd, have been so well receiv'd by the Publick, that I dare hope a Third, (which I undertake at my own Expence) when recommended by the Character of its Author, will leave me no room to repent of my Design; the rather because the **BOOK** is extremely necessary in all Protestant States, and especially in that Part of Great-Britain, formerly call'd Scotland as being a Preservative against the Wiles of the Emissaries of France and Rome. I am and always shall remain,

S I R, Your most

Humble Servant

W. Redmayne

L'IMPRIMEUR

A MONSIEUR

HILLAIRE RENEU

MONSIEUR,

JE vous supplie ne trouver pas mauvais la liberté que j'ai pris, de publier sous votre Nom, un Livre Anonime, que j'ai déjà Imprimé pour vous deux fois.

Les deux premières Editions (nonobstant le défaut de votre Nom) que votre modestie a caché, ont été si bien reçues du Public, que j'ose esperer que cette troisième Edition (que j'entreprend de faire à mes dépens) étant soutenu de votre Nom, ne me donnera pas sujet de me repentir de mon entreprise, d'autant que ce Livre est très-nécessaire dans tous les Etats Protestans, & particulièrement dans cette partie de la Grande Bretagne ci-devant apellée Ecoffe, pour servir de Preservatif contre la seduction des Emisaires de Rome & de France. Je suis & serai toujours,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très-humble
Serviteur.

B. 3

G. Redmayne.

L. L. M. P. R. I. M. E. U. R.

A. M. O. N. S. I. E. U. R.

H. I. L. L. A. I. R. E. R. E. N. E. U.

M. O. N. S. I. E. U. R.

Je vous supplie de trouver par ma main
la liberté d'après moi, de publier
vous votre Nom, en l'avis Anonyme, que
si des Impresaires pour vous deux fois.
Les deux premières Editions (nonob-
stant le défaut de l'original) que vous
modifiez à votre gré, car si l'on ne vous
en Publie, que l'on s'aperçoit que cette
troisième Edition (que j'annule) de
maire à mes dépens) étant l'original de
votre Nom, ne me donnera pas sujet de
me repentir de mon entreprise, & ayant
que ce livre est un excellent ouvrage pour
les Bénéficiaires, de particulièrement
dans cette partie de la Grande Bretagne
où l'on appelle l'original, pour servir de
Brevet contre la falsification des Écri-
tures de Rome & de France. Je suis &c.

M. O. N. S. I. E. U. R.

Je vous supplie

de m'en envoyer

G. R. O. M. A. N. T.

THE PREFACE.

THIS Book was first published in French in the Year 1686, and then Translated into English; a Copy whereof a Merchant of London sent to one of his Brethren in France; and some time after acquainted him, that upon the instances of the French Ambassador at this Court, there had been order'd to be Burnt, and the Translator and Printer thereof almost ruin'd by Imprisonments and Fines, and that the Papists took a great deal of care to suppress all the Copies, least the Nation should be made acquainted with the Truths contain'd therein; where the Cruelties exercis'd against the Protestants in France, who would not abjure their Religion, and embrace the Romish, are truly represented: 'Twas at the same time that Preparations were making in order

order to put the same Methods in practice against the *Protestants* in *England*, where the Pope kept openly a Nuncio besides several Monks and Jesuits: There were also several Writers, as Sir Roger *L'Estrange*, and others, employ'd, and well paid, to assert that there was no Persecution in *France*, but contrariwise voluntary Conversions to the Romish Religion; and that as to the great number of People who left their Country to come over into this, under pretence of Religion, they did it only for private ends and self-interest. But these Impostures were soon bourn down by the sight of so many poor Wretches that throng'd hither for Refuge, from those dreadful Calamities which were inflicted on 'em; The consideration of which made the Nation seriously think of securing the *Protestant Religion*, which its Enemies design'd to destroy here, as they had done in *France*, and elsewhere.

Some Years after, the Gentleman who had received this Book in *English*, came over to augment the number of the Refugees in this Kingdom, and inquiring after it, 'twas impossible for him to light

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n print any other Copy here : But having
glance told since, that the Anonymous Au-
thor, was that Excellent Man of God,
The late Mr. Claude, Minister of Paris,
who died in Holland soon after he had
written this Book, by this means he got
it into *French*; and very lately by the
volunture of a † Reverend Divine,
Religious in *English*, (perhaps † Dr. Man-
ningham.
the only one extant,) which
being compar'd together, it appears, that
the Translator for some regard he had to
those times, when the Enemies of our
holy Religion were in great Credit, did
designedly omit several matters of Fact,
that had them the most important to the
Cause of the Refugees; insomuch, that
above the Fourth part of it was cut off
in the Translation; tho' the Translator
wou'd ne'er the better for it.

Seeing then the great efforts made to
suppress this Book, it the rather deserves
to be preserv'd among Protestants to all
Posterity. And for as much as the Re-
fugees in this Kingdom durst not, by
Reason of the strict Prohibition keep any
of them, 'tis thought of the utmost Im-
portance to revive it again, especially
at

at this Juncture, which seems so much more favorable than the former, and to offer it intire as if it were a new Work to the Nation, according to the Refugees first intent, in which view it is now reprinted in both Languages, for the convenience of those that understand but one.

The Publick will see that this Book is an Abridgment of the cruel and inhumane *Persecution*, exercis'd against the *Protestants* in *France* for several Years together, to the prejudice of the *Edict of Nantes*, and its dismal consequences, to the beginning of the Year 1686. It likewise a solemn Protestation of above 150000 Refugees in several *Protestant* States, who both for themselves and their Brethren, that could not escape the Hands of the Dragoons, do call to Heaven and Earth for Vengeance of the Outrage done to them or their Relations; as also for the Cruelties still exercis'd against those that have the Misfortune to be yet kept in Prisons, Dungeons, Convents or Gallies, for the sake of their Religion, to the prejudice of Natural Rights, Treaties, public Faith, Edicts, Promises

and

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and Oaths. 'Tis to be hop'd there are
other Writers since Mr. *Claude*, who will
have gather'd together the further Trans-
actions relating to this Subject, in order
to transmit the Memory thereof to Po-
sterity, inspight of the Disguises and
Fictions, the Authors of those Evils, and ma-
licious Reports have spread abroad, by
means of the Declarations and Subscrip-
tions which they have forc'd from those
they persecuted, obliging 'em to say, that
their pretended Abjurations were volun-
tary. But these foul Imputations so well
known to the Refugees in this Country,
obliged them to challenge 'em as false,
and to put this Question to their Ene-
mies; To what purpose (were things as
you say) are the Passages by Sea and
Land shut up, and guarded with so much
Cost and Precaution, even against those
that have given you such Declarations?
Why are so many Thousands of both
Sexes come into this Country? 'Tis well
known they will return this Answer,
That the loss of those People is but in-
considerable to *France*, since there are
only the poorer, and meaner sort that go
away, for the Rich are so narrowly
watch'd,

watch'd, that they cannot escape: But this is another notorious Falshood, for on the contrary there are in general only those who had Money, or Credit, that could be at the vast Expences, necessary for their Escape, which is computed amount to at least 200000 *l.* Sterling *specie* paid to the Masters of English-ships merely for the Passage of those that came over into this Country; and as for the Quality, (without undervaluing in the least any of those that fled into other Countries) there are come hither a Duke and Marechal of *France*, some Generals of Armies, a Dutchess, several Counts and Countesses, Marquisses, and Marchionesses, Judges of Sovereign Courts, Viscounts, Barons, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, Men of Learning, Lawyers, Physicians, Substantial Merchants, Tradesmen of all sorts, and many Captains, Masters, Mariners, Gardners, and Husband-men; beside the great number of Ministers who were banish'd that Kingdom, with orders, to depart forthwith upon pain of the Gallies. These are the Persons who are said to be but of little Consequence

while

Whilst their Enemies themselves do say
 in other Places, that the loss is irrepara-
 ble. Now its plain on the one Hand, that
 the love of one's Country, Estate, Settle-
 ment, Relations, Friends, plenty of Wine,
 and other Enjoyments of this Life, are
 very strong ties; from whence it must
 be confess'd on the other hand, that
 there must be some stronger Motives to
 induce such Multitudes, to forsake all
 the afore-mentioned Advantages, and
 seek an *Azilum* in Foreign Countries
 and unknown Languages, against the
 persecution of an ungrateful Country,
 where one is not allowed to Worship
 God according to ones Conscience, as
 the Author of this Book has manifestly
 evidenc'd. This is nevertheless the dis-
 mal Lot of the Refugees, and were this
 a proper Place to speak of the Hazards,
 shipwrecks, and Dangers, which so many
 thousands have been expos'd to, and
 how many have perish'd before they ar-
 riv'd in this free Country, no doubt but
 the Reader would pass a charitable Judg-
 ment upon those that are come over;
 but this would require a Volume by it-
 self; however, to hear the Emiffaries of

Rome, who do not stick impudently to affirm it, one would think there had never been any *Persecution* in *France*, or at least if there had, that it has ceas'd, seeing they say, that there are now no *Protestants* left; which they endeavour the more to insinuate in this time of War, when all Correspondence is intirely cut off. 'Tis therefore the Duty of those that are here, to refute that falshood, by asserting real and sensible matters of fact such as may convince the World, and *Great Britain* in particular, that since the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, the Reform'd of *France* have continually been persecuted: For, not to speak of the Slaughters committed in the *Cevennes*, nor of what has passed elsewhere, but only of certain matters of fact which have happened since the Death of the Author of this Book, as may be proved by Persons living here, and transacted in a little *District* of the *Parliament* of *Guienne*, (reputed to be one of the most indulgent of that Kingdom in point of Religion, by reason of the Trade of that Country with the Northern *Protestants*,) one may thereby judge, whether there is still such a thing

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ing as a Persecution in France. To
each end, the Papists in this Kingdom
desir'd to address themselves to *Martba*
Guisard living in *Fritb-street Sobo*, She will
tell them that she came out of France, be-
cause *John Guisard* her Father was Burnt
at *Nerac*, being accus'd of having irre-
solutely receiv'd the Host. Let them
ask to *Mrs. Timel*, Wife to a French
Minister at *Bristol*, and to his Sister in
law, they will tell them,
that the *Sieur † Margue-*
their Father was
hang'd at *Ste. Foy*, for
having held a Religious
Assembly in his House,
his Estate was confiscated
and the House pull'd down, their Mo-
ther condemn'd to make *Amende Honoura-*
ble, her Head shav'd by the Hangman,
re-footed, and in her Shift, holding in
her Hand a lighted Torch, and afterwards
a perpetual Imprisonment; and that
they escaped the like Severities by their
flight into this Kingdom, with their Bro-
ther since Kill'd in our Army. Let them
ask of the *Sieur Peyferie* and his Family,
what made them abandon a great Estate,

† *The History of*
his Edifying
Death is to be
Sold at the Wi-
dow Baldwin in
Warwicklane.

to be reduc'd to great Streights in *Tower Street in Sobo*? He will answer, that being accus'd with some Neighbours of his, for having exercis'd his Religion in his Country-house, he was condemned to be hang'd, his House demolish'd, and his Woods destroy'd, but God of his Mercy deliver'd him from that danger: Let them inquire of Mrs. *Charlotte*, and Mrs. *Mary* Daughters of the *Sieur de la Ramiere*, who died in the Service of *England*? They will tell them that his Castle was pull'd down and his Woods destroy'd, for having held there a Religious Assembly. The *Sieur Dupré*, and *Moses du Boust*, now living in the Parish of *St. Giles in the Fields*, will testify, that they were persecuted in their Persons and their Estates, their House demolish'd before they fled into the Country, where they are necessitated to Live upon the Charity of the Nation, the one being 80 Years Old, and the other grown Invalid in our Army; *Maria Trapeau* and *Mary Labé* living in *Sobo* will answer? That being Sick they receiv'd a Visit from the Priest and Magistrate, to whom they declar'd, that notwithstanding they had through their Persecution

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II

Persons being forced to abjure their Religion, they were resolv'd however to die for it; but being recover'd, they were condemn'd to make *Amende Honourable*, and to be perpetually confin'd in the Manufacture of *Bordeaux*, from whence they made their escape to the great danger of their Lives. 'Tis into the same place of Torment that *Olympe Passelaigue* of *Bergerac*, *Johan Darrat*, and *Johan* her sister of *Faugueroles*, *Johan Groux*, *Judith* *Labot*, *Catherine Mulh*, the two Mrs. *Goussier*, *Martha Cove*, and others now here, the number of 18 were confin'd for endeavouring to fly from the Persecution, who having had the misfortune to be taken going out of *France*, from whence they afterwards made their escape in the Night through the Windows; as for the Men, if any of them are surpris'd making their escape; 'tis *Amende Honourable* and the Gallies, and the *Sieurs Constans* and *Bessete* of *Maras* have undergone that punishment for assisting in the Assembly with the *Sieur Margueron*, and do there keep company with a great many others that suffer Persecution for the cause of Religion. The *Sieur Augier* of *Casteljaloux*, who died in the

Fortress of *Blaye*, is also an example of the Rigor exercis'd by the Persecutors.

To shew how they still deal in France with the Protestants, here is an undeniable matter of fact, *Mary Perreau* living in *Spittlefields*, will tell you, that she was Married at *Plymouth* to *Peter Perreau* a French Pilot, who a Month after the Marriage being Sail'd for the *Straits* was taken, and carried into *France*, where he was condemned to the Gallies for 10 Years. Since then as 'tis Death or the Gallies for the Men who refuse to change their Religion, or are found making the escape, so 'tis *Amende Honorable* and perpetual Imprisonment for the Women where a great number have Dyed, and among others the Illustrious Wife the Holy Martyr the *Sieur Margueron*, and lately the Confessors *Mrs. la Serre*, and *Mrs. Gentillot*; the Prisons continue still fill'd with Women, some of which have been above 20 Years in the Town-house of *Bordeaux*, glorifying God by their sufferings; and amongst others, *Mrs. Villot* a Gentlewoman of 80 Years of age, that has a Daughter living in *Sobo*, *Claudine May*, and *Johan* her Daughter, *Mrs. Barbot*
 Mrs

nple of *Charlemont*, and a great many more
 utors sufficiently testify, that were it not
 From the Persecution, so many Persons
 ndent could hardly be kept in Prison. These
 ving living Witnesses for such as desire to
 he w further satisfied of the Truth, and this
 rreac all number (which might be infinitely
 the reas'd, its hop'd will suffice both to
 raig nifest the Truth, and to confute the
 whe lice of those who are endeavouring to
 or ivert it by their false slanders against
 or t Refugees; As for instance, they gave
 hang sometime since, that all the Prote-
 g the nts in *France* went to Mass, and were
 d pe ally converted to the Romish Religion;
 ome n which nothing is more notoriously
 , an ise, for Proof whereof one needs only
 e th erve, that the present War having
 , anecessitated the raising the Militia in
 , anence; Personal Taxes have been laid on
 e st Protestants who refuse to go to Mass,
 hav ich serves as a Fund for the Payment
 nou the said Militia. So that the Clergy
 r Su *France*, who had promis'd the French
 illot ng to extirpate the Protestant Religion,
 cha to make the Romish Triumph, have
 ine the quite contrary: For let them
 rbot ish the Ministers, Prohibit the As-
 Mrs ssemblies, Exile 'em, and inflict even Death

it self, if they please, this doth not destroy Religion, but only as it were cut off those rivulets whose Springs remain for they cannot Banish the Light of the Reform'd, nor hinder the Consolation of the Holy Ghost.

But say they, the Persecutors do not now use Rigors, they will instruct the Reform'd by Degrees, who being once well instructed, will have no repugnance to remain in the Romish Church. This is a great mistake, the reformed are not desirous of Instructions from such Masters let them be told never so often, that the Ministers have misrepresented the Romish Religion, and that they are to hearken to their Converters who will give them a right Information of it, to which they will readily answer, we are not to be instructed by you, for the Edicts and Declarations you have obtain'd from the King against us, our Ministers Banish'd at your solicitations, our Brethren condemn'd to the Gallies, and to Death by your Prosecutions, the Cruelties exercised against us by the Dragoons, all your Treacheries, Injustices, and Cruelties do sufficiently shew us what your Religion and Faith is, and plainly convinces us, that

not from God, what Profession so-
 re you pretend to make of Christianity.
 this suffice to be said in justification
 of the Protestants that still remain in
 France, under the longest and sharpest
 persecution that ever was heard of, and
 which Fraud and Imposture are coun-
 tenanced by force, and this is the reason
 of matters of fact here-mention'd have
 been produced from one little part of the
 Kingdom only, because they may so easily
 be proved here *Viva voce*. And then let
 one judge what is transacted in other
 places, where the Protestants are us'd
 with greater severity. And by the way
 we may here see the Causes and Motives,
 the depopulating of *France*, and the
 reasons why so many Thousands fled
 to Protestant Countries to shelter them-
 selves, from the Injuries their Brethren
 were still expos'd to.

Having now represented the several
 Qualities of the French Refugees in this
 Kingdom, (who must not be suppos'd to
 be of higher rank than those that have ta-
 ken Sanctuary in other Countries,) it may
 confidently be affirm'd that such an en-
 crease of People, is an advantageous Ac-
 qui-

quisition to this Kingdom; for they were not all Poor as is well known at the *Exchequer*, and *Royal Exchange*, especially, if we give any credit to the Computation that has been made in *France*; what they brought over, and of the that Kingdom has thereby sustain'd. confidently reported there, that sometime before the Revocation of the *Edict of Nantes*, and during the great *Persecution* many *Protestants* foreseeing the Misfortunes likely to befall 'em, sent away a great part of their Estates out of *France* insomuch, that it's computed, the Refugees, one with another, either in Money, Goods, Jewels, or other moveables, have brought over at least the value of one Hundred Pounds Sterling, whereby the Nation is so much impoverish'd in Funds, (which it has so very much wanted since;) to this they add; that of the necessary Consumption which is reckoned at 7*l.* Sterling per Head per Annum; and therefore by the Rule of contraries, the Country whither they have transplanted themselves, are by so much the gainers. However, 'tis hop'd none will be so uncharitable as to doubt, that out of Grac

as well as Affection, the Refugees
entirely devoted to a Nation that has
giv'd 'em with so much Humanity.
will appear, if it be consider'd how
at a share they had in the Reduction
eland, where upwards of 7000 of them
sh'd either by Sword or Sicknefs,
ch must otherwise have fallen upon
English; Some of the Refugees have
avour'd to subsist both by liberal and
hanic Arts, and Husbandry, but a-
e all by their mutual Trade and Cor-
pondence with their Acquaintance
Friends that have settled in other
untries, as in *Switzerland, Geneva, Ger-*
ny, Holland, and the Northern Crowns,
ch has much encreas'd all the Reve-
s of this Kingdom, and given a grea-
blow to *France*, than six Civil Wars
d other ways have done, and at the
e time have procur'd to this Kingdom
articular, a real and lasting advantage,
he House of Lords, was pleas'd to
notice in a Conference with the
amons, about the Bill for preventing
asional Conformity, in the Words
wing, page (24) *

the foreign Protestants

* Printed in
February 1703.
there

there is great reason to give them all just encouragement, for as they have brought an us many NEW Manufactures, so they carried them so far, that of late Years we exported to the value of a Million of W^o Manufactures, more than was done in Charles's Reign, before they came among and the putting them under Apprehensions and Discouragements, may be a means to draw them to a Country where they are sure of intire Liberty. The Lords add, We have felt the happy effects of the Liberty granted them in the last Reign, and it is to be hoped that nothing will be done in this to impede that, or to raise Apprehensions and Fears in the minds of Men, that are so useful to us in the most important Article of our Trade.

The Opinion of that Noble House who have thus eminently stood up for the Refugees, ought one would think to have silenced that multitude of malicious Libels that are daily publish'd against them whose Authors have so little modesty as to affirm, that the French are come out of France for want of means of subsistence, and out of Zeal for Religion; which Calumnies the English Tradesmen magnify exceedingly, because they say, that the

Fren

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French Refugees work cheaper than they
Now supposing that were true; it
be no damage in the least, even to
that complain; for if a Shoemaker
example, get 3 or 4 Pence less in a
pair of Shoes, he on the other hand will
make that in his Gloves, and much more
in his Hat, which by the same reason will
be render'd as cheap in proportion, and
of all other things. But if any one
should contest this matter farther, we shall
give their justification to the Landlords
whose Houses that have been built since
their coming over, the Rent of which by
modest Computation cannot amount
less than 80000 *l.* Yearly, and they
without doubt will affirm, that their Re-
free Tenants are no ways prejudicial
to the Nation, for those of 'em that sub-
sist of themselves, relieve to the utmost
their Power such of their Brethren as
are necessitous, and readily pay both Pa-
rish and National Taxes; They have
most of them been Naturaliz'd, tho' at
their own proper Charges, and pay the
Value of their Churches, and the Salaries
of their Ministers, Readers, and School-
masters; whereas in other Countries, es-
pecially

pecially in *Holland*, the Refugees are Naturaliz'd *Gratis*, they have the Freedom of keeping Shops, and exercising their respective Callings, and have been supplied with above 100 Churches, either in the United Provinces, or in *Germany* at the charge of the States General, who are very far from suffering 'em to pay the Ministers of the Country, where they reside, do themselves pay the Stipend of the Refugee Ministers, Readers, and School-masters, which are very considerable. But what is yet more to their Advantage is, that since the *Persecution* which hath lasted now above 21 Years, most of which time the States General have been in Conjunction with this Kingdom, being engaged in an Expensive War against *France*; not one Refugee in *Holland* hath ever pay'd one Farthing for his Personal Estate or Stock in Trade. One might easily enlarge very much on this subject, were I not fear'd that the Libellers would insinuate from hence, as tho' the Refugees complained, whereas they are so far from that 'tis unwillingly they are forc'd to stand in these things, to defend themselves against those that endeavour to

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re. them, with the taking away the
cedo and out of English-men's Mouths, in or-
r the to render them odious to the common
n fu ple; 'Tis also in that view alone the
eith Refugees alledge the advantageous settle-
ymt of their Brethren in *Brandenburgh*, the
l, w tory whereof has been printed at *Berlin*.
ay Robert Roger in 1690. Which shews they
the ve in that Country, that the Refugees
per a very great Benefit to them, seeing his
s, a ssian Majesty is not content only to fa-
nfic r them in his own Dominions, but like-
ir A e causes his Ambassadors in other Pro-
wh ant Courts to make * Collects in the
nos alf of all such *Protestants* as take Refuge
ave his Countries.

be If therefore all Politicians agree, that
gai titudes of People make the Glory of
ha ngs, and the Riches of a Country, why
nal then so many Libels suffer'd here to
ht e publish'd in opposition to those General
ere axims? The Refugees think themselves
nsi der an obligation to declare it, and let
s co Publick know, that this Evil proceeds
om

Her Majesty's Brief for the Protestants of the
cipality of Orange, Owmed Subjects of his Pruf-
Majesty, Dated the 17. November 1703.

pe D 2 from

from the Enemies of their Religion some unquestionable Proofs whereof should be brought hereafter. But first 'tis proper to give an Account of a remarkable thing that happened in the Year 1664. Some Popish Villages of the *District of Lalew*, the *low Countries*, corresponding with *Amsterdam*, and coming accidentally by some Books of Controversy, were soon persuaded of the Falshood of the Popish Religion, and thereupon forsook it, which Curates, perceiving made their Complaint to the Bishop, and the Bishop to the French King; after several Citations, Sentence was pronounced, that they should either go to Mass, or leave the Country, the Pious Christians rather chose the latter, which King *Charles II.* was pleas'd to order Deputies to be sent thither to invite them over into *England*, and to make 'em very advantageous Offers besides the defraying their Charges; But the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the States of *Holland*, and the Elector of *Palatine*, *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, having at the same time sent their Deputies, the Conditions offer'd on the part of the * Elector Pal

* Privileges granted to the Exiles of *Lalew*, in 17 Articles by *Char. Lewis Earl Palatin*, 5 August 1664.

being more advantageous than the
 ers, they Settled in his Country to the
 number of 1800 Men, Women, and Child-
 ren, Tradesmen, and Husband-men, de-
 vout of every thing. But by reason of
 late Wars in the Palatinate, and the De-
 struction of *Billingheim*, they were oblig'd
 to leave that Country and settle in *Romano-*
nia where they now are. This may serve
 to confute the unthinking Libellers; for
 sufficient reason can be given why such
 numbers of Protestants, as come over of
 themselves, should be less respected than
 those who are invited by great Offers. For
 as well as these encrease the Consump-
 tion of our Manufactures and Products,
 especially that of Corn, and thereby save
 Five Shillings per Quarter on what
 they consume, which would otherwise be
 paid on Exportation; Add to this the Sen-
 tences of Sir *Thomas Culpeper* in his Poli-
 tical Treatise, Sir *William Petty* in his Po-
 pular Arithmetick, Sir *Josiah Child* in his
 Discourse of Trade, and Sir *Francis*
Bacon in his Essays on Trade; wherein
 manifest all their efforts chiefly aim at
 alleviating the absolute necessity of an
 increase of People, which they say is the

Source of Riches, and confess that the Nation being under-peopled stands in need of being Recruited.

It has been already said, that the Refugees, to testify their Acknowledgment, have readily expos'd themselves to the perils of War, and that in the Reduction of Ireland above 7000 of 'em have perished, which must once more be repeated, because 'tis the sad Spring from whence proceeds the great number of Sick and maimed Persons, Widows and Orphans, who have lost their Husbands, Fathers, Brothers, and other Relations, who during their Lives supplied their Wants, besides several Old Gentlemen, Old Ministers and their Wives, who in Process of time being grown weak and out of employment, after having spent all they had, being driven out of France, are reduc'd to the necessity of begging the Publick Charity of the Nation, and because 'tis these that are the most expos'd to the continual Malignations of their Enemies; let this Preface inform the Reader of what perhaps may be unacquainted with, which is the manner of their subsistence; since a more favorable opportunity will hardly occur.

er it self, than the present Publication
their Complaints against their Coun-
men. And to this purpose, it is necessa-
to remind him of what pass'd in the
sions of Parliament 1695. When those
or People presented a Petition to the
use of Commons, whereupon a Com-
tee was appointed, in which upon the
mination of their several Qualities, A-
and Callings; it was found that the
mber of Old Gentlemen, and Mini-
s, their Wives, Children, Widows, and
orphans, was then 2460 Persons worthy
the Publick Charity of the Nation, as
appears by the Committee's Report to the
ouse, containing the Declarations of
ing Charles the II. of the 28th of July
31. And of King William and Queen
ary of the 25th of April 1689, men-
ned in the said Report, importing,
at the French Protestants having been
ited with great Promises of assistance, to
e hither, it were a great scandal to the Go-
nment and Religion, if they were not speedily
eved, and that it would be strange if this
tion should suffer it self to be out-done by
r Neighbours in so excellent a Work, seeing,
what Charity soever is bestow'd upon them.
(be-

(besides the Blessing that redounds from it) the Nation is *ne're the poorer*, since it *crives it back by Consumption as fast as it gives it*. In consideration of which Report the House of Commons voted 15000 Sterling *per Annum* for the Subsistence of these poor Refugees; But 3000 *l.* being appointed for the Ministers out of the same, there remain'd but 12000 *l.* for the Laity, both here and in Ireland, which being then paid in remote Tallies and Male Tickets, and the same being ordered to be Sold by the Lords appointed regulating the manner of distributing the Charity of the Nation. There was 1696, 1697, and 1698. lost by the 6559 *l.* 9 *s.* 10 *d.* which depriv'd the poor of Seven Months Subsistence, A during which time they were oblig'd to Borrow what they could, without having any prospect of repaying the same, unless the Deficiency upon the Tallies should be made good, which as it was never done, has increased their Number. This is the Account of what pass'd in Parliament, or might add to the Misfortune of that Deficiency, a yet heavier loss for the poor French Refugees, which is, that they

receive the Charity of the Nation, Year King *William* Died, which was due and never paid, (the Warrant which is yet unsatisfied;) Which is inevitably oblig'd 'em to contract Debts for their daily Sustainance, which they were wholly unable to satisfy their Creditors, many of them have acted rigorously to the utter Ruin of such as were destitute by these unexpected Deficiencies, which together with the Continuation of the War, and the Calamities attend it, have so increas'd their Poverty, that by a List newly published by Order of His Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Bishop of *London*, containing the Quality, Age, Sex, and Habitation of every one, it appears that from the Year 1696. and the Report then made to this present time, the Poor are increas'd to more than double Number, and that for some Years the Charity of 100 l. has not been sufficient to pay the Rent of their Lodgings, and besides, most of them being Old and Sick, let any one imagine the Straights these poor People are reduc'd to, (which is not fit to be described) and what Assistance can they expect

expect from the other Refugees, who according to the Enemies Computations have so little for themselves as will hardly suffice to maintain them; so that unless some more effectual means be found out for their Support, their Number without a Miracle, must daily increase for humanly speaking

2 Cor. 8. 2. 3. if tho' the Refugees should exceed the Macedonians in Charity to one another, nothing is to be expected but an additional Misery. But there is reason to expect better things from this Charitable Nation when with their wonted Compassion they will be pleased to take notice of great occasion there is of exercising the Clemency towards such a number of miserable Objects, it being to be hop'd there are many who will follow the Example of the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary *Leg*; whose Kindnesses and Charitable Offices proceeding from mere Motives of Religion and Humanity towards the poor Sufferers; they have often felt the good effects of, as well as of so many of worthy Members of Parliament,

Now, That giving to the Poor is lending
 to Lord. It has been already ob-
 served, that the Enemies of the reformed Religion are those Libertines
 who are always endeavouring to pro-
 mote that of Rome, and strive to render
 the Condition of the French Protestants
 more and more grievous, they have Emis-
 saries who make it their Business to de-
 bauch from the general, even to the par-
 ticular Persons of the Poor, whom they
 attack with grievous Calumnies, re-
 proaching them with having left their
 wooden Shoes, and the Garlick and
 onions they lived upon, to come hither
 to live at ease, and rob Greenwich Hospi-
 tal and the Widows, and Orphans of
 the Nation, of the Charities which they
 much better deserve, and are now be-
 coming, by their being bestow'd upon
 an unworthy People. Thus they en-
 deavour to deprive them of all manner of
 comfort, that they may be oblig'd to re-
 turn to France, whilst on the other hand
 to make the Ways and Means of repair-
 ing thither, very easy to such as are wil-
 ling to go: Several Instances of such In-
 trigues

trigues might be brought, whereby
have inticed away many Children,
in *France* are put into Possession of
whole Estate of the Family, provided
they abjure their Religion. Those
missaries of *Rome* pretend to do those
vils that Good may come of it, but
is to accumulate Crime upon Crime,
of their Creatures had the Confidence
present a Petition to Her Majesty,
to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of
terbury, and the Lord Bishop of *Lon*
importing that the French Committee
appointed by the Lords Commissioners
for distributing the publick Charity, was
false to their Trust. beseeching Her
Majesty to give him leave to secure the
Persons, and that in the mean time
Charity of the Nation should be sus-
pended; Upon this, and such like Repre-
sentations, Her Majesty was pleased to
order Sir *Owen Buckingham* the then
Mayor to summon the English Com-
mittee to examine the Matter, and make
their Report. The Person thereupon
appearing before them could not make
out the least Appearance of Misdemeanor
nor in the French Committee, and so

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that the * Report
did not be in his * Report made the
ur, and that Her 16. July 1785.
Jesty had order'd the Attorney Gene-
to prosecute him, he made his escape
and Sea, since which it has been dis-
t'd he was a Papist in disguise, that
from Piedmont for having kill'd a
t; and his Wife has confess'd that he
to receive a Reward, could he have
pass'd the Design of annulling the
ch Committee, which consist of Per-
beyond all Suspicion, who give an
Account of their Administration
the English Commissioners, who both
ne and the other employ their Time,
and Pains, from no other Principle
their Duty to God and Charity to
poor Brethren, and yet such Repre-
sations, false as they are, having pai-
r current without any Defence from
ed Innocence, have proved of dan-
s Consequence; for it hath been
ed for some Years past, that the
able Example of several worthy
ans, who have formerly left Gifts
egacies at their Death, is very lit-
owed at this time, when there is

so great an occasion for it, the Disuse of which laudable Custom is in a great measure attributed to the subtle and crafty insinuations of the Emissaries of *Rome*, who leave no means unattempted for the Destruction of the Refugees, whilst the Popish Tenet of the Merit of good Works by the Pope's Indulgences and the Priests Exhortations, is an almost incredible Support to the necessitous English and Irish Papists in *France*.

To sum up all from what has been said 'tis to be hop'd no one will suffer himself any longer to be prejudiced against the poor Refugees: But that all will submit to the favourable Declaration of those august Bodies the Houses of Lords and Commons, that so the great number of poor Members of *Jesus Christ*, who have escaped the *Persecution*, and now implore the Charity of the Nation in a manner proportionable to their Wants, should live comfortably and die in Peace, which might be effected, could it be contrived that each of Her Majesty's Subjects in *Ireland* should give but a Penny every year towards their Relief, (and that would suffice them) which would not in

be felt, if it be considered that it
d all be spent here; besides as most
em are old and sickly, Death human-
eaking will in a very little time rid
Nation of them, and the younger of
n, who do not remember *France*, but
Sentiments of Resentments, are
y blended among the English: Inso-
n, that if after the present War is
d, there should be Liberty of return-
there are few will go back, but those
now seem to be chargeable to the
on, and have left great Estates there,
their Number will be compensated
by the Parents and Friends of those
shall remain, who will be induced
ome hither, where joyning with those,
se Abilities and Talents permit 'em
enjoy the Happiness and Liberty they
under the Reign of Her most Sacred
esty, will altogether esteem it their
ry and Felicity to live here, and be
ful and zealous Subjects of the Coun-
that has been their Sanctuary, and
reby encrease the Power and Glory
Riches thereof.

be felt, if it be considered that it
 is all but certain, besides as most
 men are old and weakly. Death human-
 ity will in a very little time rid
 nation of them, and the younger of
 who do not remember the wars, but
 gentlemen of the present age, are
 blinded among the English; I do
 not think it will be the present War is
 the more the liberty of return-
 there are few will go back, and those
 now seem to be changed to the
 on, and have left great numbers
 their number will be compensated
 by the Parents and Friends of those
 shall remain, who will be in the
 one him, where joining with those
 the Artists and Artists permit can
 joy the happiness and Liberty they
 under the Reign of Her most sacred
 ally, will altogether esteem it their
 y and Felicity to live here, and be
 ful and zealous Subjects of the Coun-
 that has been their Sanctuary, and
 by, exercise the Power and Glory
 Richard Charles

The Complaints of the
from the knowledge of the Public

~~down-right Truth of the matter.~~
~~We not know that this was a~~
~~which they for a great while toge~~
~~had concerted, and plotted, and~~

A Short Account
OF THE COMPLAINTS,
AND
REL PERSECUTIONS,

OF THE
PROTESTANTS

IN THE
Kingdom of FRANCE.

THE Barbarities committed of
late against the Protestants of
France, must appear so dete-
stable to all, who have not
quite divested themselves of
animosity, and are such terrible Prodi-
gious Fury and Iniquity, as tis not to
wonder if they who have been the
authors thereof, should use all sort of
art to extenuate as much as they can,
and to their utmost endeavours keep

26 *The Complaints of the*
from the knowledge of the Publick
down-right Truth of the matter.
we not know that this was a Plot
which they for a great while toge-
had concerted, and plotted, and
which, after long Deliberation, they
purposely introduced all those Injusti-
fices, which have therein appeared
all their Colours, we might possibly
say, that this their extenuation
be a mark of the tacit condemnation
what they had done, and suppose
their palliating an acknowledgme-
their own Displeasure at it.

But when Men Act in cold Blood
and with a premeditated fury, how
travagant soever their Actions are,
not usual for them to repent of 'em
therefore better to say, that if this be
an effect of some remains of shame,
remorse of Conscience, we may sup-
at least 'tis out of some respect and
gaze to the World, which does not
mit 'em to expose their Views, those
lences in their true and natural
but on the contrary obliges them to
guise 'em, in order to diminish their
reputation.

what ever fine gloss may be set on
 Proceedings, it must be however
 confessed that it is an unconceivable
 violence thus to pretend to impose on
 whole World in matters of fact, so
 in and so public as those are, and
 endeavour to put a cheat upon all
 as to Transactions known, not bare
 Gazettes, on by Publick Prints, but
 which is much more Authentick, by an
 infinite Number of the very Per-
 sons themselves of all Ranks, who are
 led to set before the Eyes of the
 most Nations their Miseries and Cal-
 amities: Nay, it cannot be denied, but
 after having so terribly overwhelm'd
 innocent People in their own Country,
 beyond Barbarity it self, to endeavour
 to stifle their Complaints in other
 Countries whither they are driven. And
 this means deprive them of a Com-
 mon, which even the bare Instinct of
 Nature, never refuse to the miserable.
 Now, this is the course our Persecu-
 tants in France hold as this Day, Cruelty
 in their Order marcheth first, and then
 Oppression followeth after; That so all
 Mischief which Cruelty hath brought
 forth,

forth; Imposture at the Heels of it not only cover over, but likewise aggravate; to the end that the Objects of Fury may be left destitute of every remedy, or Relief; be it never so small.

It were not reasonable to suffer this to go on, in this *Second Design*, as we have done in the *First*; and therefore till a more exact Account may be given of all the Particulars transacted in different Acts of this Tragedy, we choose some principal Instances upon which we shall make such Reflections will enable the World to pass an equitable and impartial Judgment on the whole Proceeding. And as we shall say nothing as to matters of fact; but what is certainly and notoriously known; So we shall advance nothing in our Reflections, but what all, even of the meanest Capacity may easily comprehend.

To begin with matters of fact; there is no Body but knows, that a little after his present Majesty of *France* came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War, which proved so sharp and desperate, as brought the State within Hairs breadth of utter Ruin. 'Tis a

known, that in the midst of all troubles, those of the Reform'd still kept their Loyalty so inviolable, and accompanied it with such a constancy and with a fervour so extraordinary and so successful, that the King himself oblig'd to give Publick Testimony of it, by a Declaration made at Paris, in the Year 1692. Then as at Court as in the Armies, each to proclaim loudest the Merits of the Reform'd, and even the Queen Mother self was the first who set the Example, readily acknowledging, that they had indeed preserv'd the State. This is acknowledged by all; but 'twill hardly be believ'd, tho' it be too true, what our enemies themselves have an Hundred times told us; and which the sequel has so shrewdly confirmed, that this is precisely the principal and most effectual Cause of our Ruin, and of all the mischiefs which we have since suffer'd; that all the endeavors were used to envenom all important Services in the Kings Affairs, by Ministers minds, by perswading that if on this Occasion this Party should preserve the State, this sheweth that they

they could likewise have overthrow
had they rank'd themselves on the o
side? and might still easily do it, if
such a like Occasion should again
it self. That therefore this Party
by all means be crush'd, and the
they have done utterly disregarded,
look'd on only, as an Indication of
Evil which they may one Day be
ble of doing.

Now, that this way of reasoning w
refines upon all that is most malic
and Diabolical, and proceeds, eve
far as to hinder the Subjects from
charging their Duty to their Sovere
for fear of drawing on themselves
by Punishments instead of the Re
pences which they might reasonably
pect, should be relish'd as a piec
most excellent Policy, is that, which
could never have thought, had we
been convinced by experience; For
soon as the Kingdom was settl'd in Pe
the design of destroying the Refor
was resolv'd on, and the better to
'em comprehend that their Loyalty
ruin'd them, those Cities which
shewed most of it, were first begun

diatly then, on slight Pretences, fell furiously on *Rochel*, *Montauban*, *Millau*, these three Towns, where of the Reformed Religion that had signalized themselves for the Interest of the Court; *Rochel* underwent an incredible number of Proscriptions, *Montauban* and *Millau* were sack'd by the

these being but particular strokes, mere Preludes as it were, which led nothing; They carried not long before they made appear the great and terrible Machines, they were to use in carrying on of their intended Design to the last extremity. It would be difficult a matter to give an exact account of all these several Methods and means, the number of them was so prodigiously multiplied: For never did humane Malice before produce such a Crop of them, every Day brought forth new ones for Twenty Years together, and the Fund thereof all the while never exhausted. To take only one therefore of the Chief of them, such as were most obvious to every eye; they may be reduced to these

Six

Six Orders. 1. Those which relate to vexatious Suits and Trials in the ordinary course of Judicature. 2. which concern the Deprivation of all kinds of Offices, and Employments, and from all other ways of Subsistence. 3. The Infractions of the Edict of Nîmes under the Notion and Title of Excommunications. 4. New Laws and new Regulations. 5. Juggling contrivances and Tiring Amusements. 6. And lastly, which had for their end the animating of People, and inspiring them with hatred and animosity against us. These were the most considerable means which the Persecutors have employed to attain their Ends, and the Paths which they have chosen to tread in for several Years. *I say for several Years*, for what they in Prospect being no easy matter, needed therefore time to order their Engines, and dispose their Materials; to take notice of their Traverses and Interruptions by some Foreign War, whose success did not a little contribute to blow up their Courage, and to confirm them in the Design which they

form

Protestants of France. 43

ed against us. * The first of these

ns has had an almost infi-

extent, as would easily

ar if we should make a

al of all the Condemna-

of Churches, or Suppressions of

Exercises of Religion, with all the

Vexations which have been brought

by the establishing of Commissio-

of both Religions.

his Appointment of Commissioners

of both the Religions was a Snare

most dexterously contriv'd that could

for, immediatly after the *Pirenean*

ty, the King under pretence of re-

ing the Contraventions against the

of *Nantes*, establish'd them in the

al Provinces. The Roman Catho-

Commissioner was every where his

esty's Intendant; who was to be sure

Man for the purpose, arm'd with all

egal Authority, and well instructed

the Secret. The other, was either

hungry Officer a Pensioner to the

rt, or at best some Poor Gentle-

who had usually neither the Un-

standing requisite in these sorts of

rs, nor the Liberty of Speaking his

F

Mind.

* First Me-
thod of Per-
secution.

44 *The Complaints of the*
Mind. The Clergy who had set
up, were the Spring that made
move or lye still at Pleasure. The
dicks were received before them
mal Parties in all our Affairs ; the
nations were given in their Name
Prosecutions also, and as well the
ments of the Commissioners when
were divided, as the Appeals from
Ordinances, were finally to be de
in the King's Council.

Thus in general all the Privileg
the Churches, as well with Relati
the Exercise of Religion, the plac
Publick Worship, and the Rights o
rial, as all other dependencies were
led in Question, and consequently
posed to the fresh Pursuits of the C
gy, and the ill Intention of the Ju
In which there was not the least
of Equity, for the Edict having
once executed, according to the In
tion of him that gave it, there nee
no second touches ; it being more
wholly unlikely those of the Refor
Religion, who had been ever in
Kingdom the suffering Party, coul
surp any thing therein, and extend
Li

Protestants of France. 45

beyond what belong'd to them. providing against the Contrabands was the least of their Intention; therefore by this Order, the greatest part of the Churches, cited for the violation of their Rights, saw themselves soon condemned one after another by Decrees of Council, how good sufficient soever their Titles and Deeds were. Scarcely passed there a Decree wherein these kind of Decrees were not made; and if it so happen'd, that at any time the Judges for very much saved any of them, through the Evidence of their Right, as this sometimes happened; besides, that the number was small in comparison of those who were condemned, the Judges often refused express Orders to pass Sentence against them, when they declared they would not do it with a safe Conscience. But the Oppressions of this kind did not terminate in the bare Condemnation of Churches; for particular Persons bore likewise their part. In ordinary and Civil Affairs, where the Matter was concerning, *Meum* and *Tuum* as it respects a piece of Land, an House or a

Debt between a Roman Catholick, a Person of the Reformed Religion was always one of the Heads of the Accusation. The Most of the Missionaries, the Confessors, and the whole Tribe of that Crew, intere themselves in the Affair. And in Court of Justice all the cry was; *I Plead against an Heretick, I have to do with a Man of Religion odious to the State, and which the King is resolved to extirpate.*

By this means, there was very little Justice to be expected, few Judges were proof against this false Zeal, for fear drawing the Fury of the whole Cabal against them, or passing for favourers of Hereticks. 'Tis not to be imagined how many unjust Sentences these sorts of Judges have procur'd, in all the Courts of the Kingdom; and how many Families have been ruined by 'em. And whenever any one complained, the Answer was ready, *You have the Remedy in your own Hands; why do you not turn Catholick?*

Yet all this had been nothing, had not Persecution stop'd here, and not proceeded to fasten on the Reputation, the Liberty, and even the very Lives of

Protestants of France. 47

by a general Inundation (as, one term it,) of criminal Processes and Criminal Trials. Orders were Printed and sent from thence to all Cities and Parishes of the Kingdom, which empowered the Parochial Priests, Churchwardens and others, to make an exact Enquiry into whatsoever any of the pre-
sented Reformed might have done, or for Twenty Years past, as well on the Subject of Religion, as otherwise, to the Information of this before the Judges of the Place, and punish them to the utmost extremity. Thence have we seen for several Years in execution of these Orders, the Prisons and Dungeons where fill'd with these kind of Criminals. Neither were false Witnesses wanting; but that which was most detestable was, that tho' the Judges were sufficiently convinced they were Knights of the Post, yet they maintained them, and pass'd them through such Points, as they knew to be palpably false. Upon the Testimony of such Witnesses, and these too sufficiently known to be so, they frequently condemn'd the most innocent and Worthiest Persons to be

whipt, to the Gallies, to Banishment and *Amende Honourable*. And if ever Spark either of Honour or Conscience did at any time herein stop their heat there was always however a full Immunity for those false Witnesses.

This kind of Persecution fell chiefly on the Ministers; for of a long time they might not Preach, without having Auditors, or to speak better Observers, a Troop of Priests, Monks, and Minionaries, and such kind of People, who made no scruple to charge them with Words, which they not so much thought of; and to turn others into quite contrary meaning. They also went so far as to divine the very Thoughts that so they might charge them with Crimes; for as soon as ever any Minister spake but of *Egypt*, of *Pharaob*, of the *Israelites*, of the *Godly* or the *Wicked* (as it was difficult not to speak of these Matters, when they explained the Scripture) those Spies never failed to report that by *Egypt* and by the *Wicked*, they meant the *Catholicks*, by *Pharaob* the *Kings*, by the *Israelites*, the *pretended Reformers*. The Judges seemed to believe it, and

th it, and what is yet most surpris-
the Ministers of State themselves
cted these presumptive Interpretations
as so many evident Proofs. On
grounds, the Magistrates filled the
ons with these poor People, keeping
therein for whole Years together,
often inflicted on them also several
eral Punishments.

'Tis already seen by this
kind of Persecution,
t were the Usages in
ce towards the Reformed, before
came to the utmost Violence. But
shall see them appear more evident-
in what we have to add, touching
Privation of Offices and Employments,
in general of the means of gaining
r Livelihood; which is the second
y we mentioned, that has been used
effect their Ruin. 'Tis not hard to
prehend, that in a great Kingdom
France is, where the *Protestants* were
persed, over all Parts, there was a
st Number, who could not subsist or
tain their Families, but by the Pri-
ege of serving the Publick, either in
ices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties, each
accor-

* *Second
Method of
Persecution.*

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This kind of Persecution fell chiefly on the Ministers; for of a long time they might not Preach, without having Auditors, or to speak better Observers, a Troop of Priests, Monks, and Minionaries, and such kind of People, who made no scruple to charge them with Words, which they not so much thought of; and to turn others into quite contrary meaning. They also went so far as to divine the very Thoughts that so they might charge them with Crimes; for as soon as ever any Minister spake but of *Egypt*, of *Pharaoh*, of the *Israelites*, of the *Godly* or the *Wicked* (as it was difficult not to speak of these Matters, when they explained the Scripture) those Spies never failed to report that by *Egypt* and by the *Wicked*, they meant the *Catholicks*, by *Pharaoh* the *Romans*, by the *Israelites*, the pretended *Reformers*. The Judges seemed to believe it, and

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 the Ministers of State themselves
 cted these presumptive Interpreta-
 as so many evident Proofs. On
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 ons with these poor People, keeping
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 ce towards the Reformed, before
 came to the utmost Violence. But
 shall see them appear more evident-
 in what we have to add, touching
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 in general of the means of gaining
 or Livelihood; which is the second
 y we mentioned, that has been used
 effect their Ruin. 'Tis not hard to
 comprehend, that in a great Kingdom
 France is, where the *Protestants* were
 perped, over all Parts, there was a
 t Number, who could not subsist or
 intain their Families, but by the Pri-
 ege of serving the Publick, either in
 ices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties, each
 accor-

* *Second
 Method of
 Persecution.*

50 *The Complaints of the*

according to his respective Calling;
by the Great, was so well convincing
the Necessity and Justice of this, that
made it an express Article, the most
plain perhaps, and formal, of any
contained in his Edict. And therefore
on this Point the Persecutors the most
satisfied themselves, and stuck at nothing
to compass their End.

'Twas in this View they began
the Freedom of Companies and hand
craft Trades; which under several
Privileges, they rendered almost inaccessible
to the Protestants, by the Difficulties
arriving to the Livery and Mastership
of them; and by the excessive Expence
they must be at to be receiv'd into 'em.
There being no Candidate, but was
obliged, for this purpose to be at the Charge
of tedious and expensive Law-Suits; un-
der the Weight of which they were more
commonly crush'd. But this not sufficient
by a Declaration made in 1669, the
Fines were reduced to one third, in the Towns
where the Protestants were more
in Number than the other Inhabitants; and
Orders were given not to receive any
therein, till such Diminution was made
which

at one Strock excluded all the
nders.

the time after they absolutely drove
reformed from the Consulships,
all other municipal Offices of the
s, which was in effect, to deprive
of the Cognizance of their own
s and Interests, wholly to invest
atholicks with it.

1680, the King issued out an Or-
which deprived them in general,
all kind of Offices and Employs,
the greatest to the smallest in his
s and Revenues ; they were made
pable so much as to exercise any
loy in the Custom-Houses, Guards,
sury, or Post-Office, or even to
Messengers, Stage-Coach-Men, or
goners, or any thing of this Na-

the Year 1681, by a Decree of
uncil, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solici-
Persuivants, and Sergeants, making
fession of the reformed Religion were
ned out and incapacitated through-
all the Kingdom.

The next Year, they turned out of
ce all the Officers who were Prote-
stants

stants belonging to the Nobility and Gentry, particularly to the Judges: strictly prohibiting at the same time any of the said Lords and Gentlemen to employ them in their Service, or even so much as to call them in to assist them in difficult Cases, as Assessors, or to give simply their Opinions in Matters of Law and Right, and this upon no other Account, but that of their Religion.

In 1683, All Officers belonging to the King's Household, and those of the Princes of the Blood, were also rendered incapable of holding their Places, notwithstanding they were by Patent. The Counsellors and other Officers of the Court of *Ayds*, and Chambers of Accounts, and those of Seneshalships, Prædial Courts, Bayliwicks, and Royalties. Those also of the Admiralties, Provostships, and Marshalseas with the Treasurers, Receivers and others, who belonged to the Toll-Offices, and the publick Revenues, were order'd to quit their Places in Favour of the Roman Catholics.

In 1684, All Secretaries belonging to the King, or the great Officers of the

Household

hold or Crown of France, as well Ti-
er as Honorary, and their Widows
e, by an Act of Revocation, deprived
all their Privileges of what Nature
er they were. They also deprived
those that had purchased any Privile-
for exercising of any Profession,
Merchants, Surgeons, Apothecaries,
ners, and all others without Excep-

ay, they proceeded to this Excess,
they would not suffer any Mid-
es of the reformed Religion to do
Office, and expressly ordained that
the future, our Wives should not re-
the Assistance in Child-birth from any
Roman-Catholicks.

It is not to be exprest how many par-
lar Persons, and Families, they re-
ed every where, by these strange and
heard of Methods, to Ruin and Beg-
y. But because there were yet ma-
who could sustain themselves, other
ethods of Oppression must be inven-

To this purpose they issued out
Edict from the Council, by which,
new *Converts*, as they call them,
e discharged from any Payment of
Debts

Debts for 'three' Years. This for most part fell on the reformed, having had a more particular Ty Interest and Affairs with these p^red Converts, because of their Com^munion in Religion, were reckon'd as their chief Creditors. By this Int^{er}tion they had found the Secret to compense those that changed at the pence of those that did not; and they did likewise by another Dec^re for they discharged the new Con^{ver}s all the Debts which those of the P^rstant Religion had contracted in com^mon; which by Consequence fell on the others.

Add to this, the Prohibitions to or alienate their Estates, on any Pre^text whatsoever, the King annulling breaking all Contracts, and other relating to that Matter, if it did not appear, that after these Acts, they staid in the Kingdom a whole Year. So that the last Remedy of helping themselves by disposing of their Estates in extreme Necessity, was taken from them. They deprived them likewise of another, which seemed the only remaⁱⁿ

ning, which was, that of seeking their
elsewhere, by retiring into foreign
tries, there to get their Living
bour, since this was not permitted
in *France*; by repeated Edicts the
forbad them to leave his Kingdom,
ere Penalties, which drove them
last Despair, since they saw them-
reduced to the horrible Necessity
ing with Hunger in their own
try, without daring to go to live
here. But the Cruelty of their
ies stopt not here; for their yet
ned some Gleanings in the Provin-
though very few, and as thin as
in *Pharaoh's Dream*. The Inten-
in their Districts had Order to
he Reformed with Taxes; which
did, either by laying upon them
ax of the *New Catholics*, who
discharged thereof in Favour of
Conversion, or by laying Arbitra-
axes, which were called *Taxes of*
. That is to say, he, who in the
mary Roll was assessed at Forty or
Livres, was charged by this ex-
nt Imposition at Seven or Eight
red. Thus had they nothing more

G

left,

left, for all was a Prey to the Rigour of the Intendants. They exacted Payment of those Taxes by quarter of *Dragoons*, or Rigorous Imprisonment from whence they were not freed they had payed the utmost Farthing.

These were the Two First Machines which the Clergy made use of against us: To which they added a Third

*Extradition
of Per-
secutors.*

which we have termed Infradition of the *Edict Nativus*, under pretence of Explication. Those

would know their Number and Quantity need only Read the Books Written Publish'd on this subject, as well by *Jesuit Adeynier*, an Author famous for Cavilings, as by one *Fyllan* of *Poitiers*, *Bernard*, an Officer in the Presidial Court of *Besiers* in *Languedoc*. There you find all the Turns, which the mean and most unworthy Sophistry, could invent to elude the clearest Texts of the *Edict*, and to corrupt the sincerity thereof. But because we here give you only a brief Abstract of our Troubles, and Molestations we met with, we will content our selves, with observing some

the principal only, issuing from this
tain.

that was there, for Example, more
and unquestionable in the Edict
this, viz. That it was given with
intention to maintain those of the
true Religion, in all the Rights
of Nature and Civil Society have en-
joyed Mankind withal? To argue there-
fore would be but meer Trifling, and
under pretence that the Edict con-
tained not in Express Words, that the
Protestant Children should be left under
Tuition of their Fathers and Mo-
thers to be brought up by them in their
own Religion; the King without any
doubt, that this is one of the first and
most Inviolable Rights of human Nature,
as if the Edict aforesaid had made no
provision thereupon, by a Declaration
January 1682: Ordained that all Na-
tural Children of either Sex, and of
what Age and Condition soever, should
be instructed and Educated in the Ro-
man Catholick Religion. It is very im-
portant in this place to take notice of
the Words, *of what Age soever they be*: For
it gave Birth to a World of Persecu-
tion,

tion, since the Adversaries were content to use this Order with relation to the time to come, but all natural Children were enquired after, among whom were some of at least Forty Score Years of Age, that had passed their Life in the *Protestant* Religion, by virtue of this Order were Imprisoned and grievously Oppress'd, upon the position that they were obliged to be Catholicks by their Birth.

Nor must it be omitted that in Year 1681. there came out an Edict, Children might at the Age of Six Years, Abjure the Reformed Religion and Embrace the Catholick, under pain of sentence, that the Edict did not precisely mention, that at this Age they should continue at their Parents Disposal. We see not that this was a meer Fetch, saying that on one hand, the Edict positively Prohibited to take away Children from their Parents by force, or persuation, by which it was undoubtedly meant, till the Age of Discretion or Maturity should Emancipate them; And on the other hand it suppos'd, and confirm'd all their *Natural* Rights, of which without Contradiction

hie, this is one of the most invio,

is there ever also a more manifest
tion of the Edict, than that, which
those of the Protestant Religion,
had passed over to the Roman, to
to that they had left, under pre-
that the Edict did not formally
them in express terms this liberty?
when the Edict permits to all the
Subjects in generall Liberty of Con-
ce, and forbids the perplexing, or
ling them, or offering any Force,
ary to this Liberty; who sees not,
his Exception touching the præten-
Relapsers, is so far from being an
ication of the Edict, that 'tis indeed
able Violation of it?

hereunto we may add the Prohibi-
to the Roman Catholicks not to
ge their Religion, and embrace the
rmed. For when the Edict gives
ty of Conscience, it does it in pro-
Terms, *For all those who are, and shall*
the said Religion. Yet if we believe
lergy, this was not Henry the Great's
ing, who according to them must
intended only to grant it to those,

66 *The Complaints of the*
who made Profession of it, at the
of the making his Edict.

The Edict of *Nantes* gave also to
Reformed, the Privileges of keeping
small Schools in all places where
had the Exercise of their Religion,
by this Term of *small or little Schools*,
according to the common explication
those were always understood where
might Teach Latin and Humanities. This
is the Sense which has been ever given
all over the Kingdom, to this expression
and which is still given when it concerns
the Roman Catholicks, yet by a
sort of Interpretation, this Permission
was restrained to the bare Liberty
Teaching to Read, and Write, and
Accounts, as if the Reformed were
worthy of Learning any thing further
and this on purpose to tire out the
parents, and drive them to this extremity
either not to know how to Breed up their
Children, or else be forced to send them
to the Roman Catholicks for Education.

The Edict gave them Power in
Places where they had Churches, to
instruct publicly their Children, and order
in all what concerns Religion, which was
established

sh'd the Right of teaching Theology seeing their Theology is nothing at their Religion, and as to Col- wherein they might be instructed Philosophy and other liberal Sciences, is properly called a College, the promis'd Letters Patents in good Yet 'twas interpreted that the E- have no Right to the Reformed to at them in Divinity, nor to have ges; and on this supposition it that Three Universities were con- ed, which were all that remained, *saumur, Puilaurans, and Die*: That *an*, although founded on a particu- dict, was suppress'd as well as the and even before them.

amongst all the Infractions of the of this sort, there has been none solemn or more daring than the ling or abolishing of the Courts of e, which had been granted by *Hen- Great* as a perpetual Establishment, an equal number of Judges of both ons, for administering Justice with- ejudice or Partiality, and for cau- s Edict to be religiously observ'd. theless under Pretence that it was said,

said, that the Two Courts establish'd at *Castres* and *Bordeaux* might be incorporated with their Parliaments, when Reasons that had moved his Majesty to have them separated, should cease. The present King by his Edict suppress'd those of *Paris* and *Rouen*, and then another soon after those of *Grenoble*, *Lyon*, and *Bordeaux*. Leaving by means his Protestant Subjects exposed to the Rage and Injustice both of the Parliaments, and other inferior Courts, so much that it is not to be conceiv'd what Vexations they have hence endur'd both as to their publick and private Concerns.

But we must go further, and see what we have undertaken to shew in thisbridgment, the principal things they have done to exercise our Patience, before they came to the utmost Fury: We are not to pass over the new Orders,

* *The fourth
Method of Per-
secution.*

new Laws, which were many new Inventions to torment us. The first of these Orders which appear'd, was touching the manner of Burials and terrifying the Dead. The Number of At-
tendants

The Complaints of the

ts were reduc'd to *Thirty* Persons, in those Places where the Exercise of our Religion was actually established, and where it was not. And the like Regulations as to Number were afterwards made as to most other Occasions where we might have for meeting together about our Affairs.

Orders were also issued out to hinder Communications of Provinces one to another, by Circular Letters or otherwise, tho' about Matters of Alms, Disposal of Charity. Prohibitions were likewise made of holding Colloquies in the interval of Synods; except in two Cases, the Providing for Churches destitute by the Decease of Ministers, and for the Correction of certain Scandals. They likewise took away from those Places allow'd by the Synods, which they call'd *Exercises in Fief*, the Marks of Publick Religious Exercises as the Bell, the Pulpit, and other Emblems of this nature. They were likewise forbidden to receive those Ministers in Synods to Vote, or to Register their Names in the Catalogue of those that belong to Churches.

The

The Ministers in general were bidden to take on them the Title of *Ministers*, or any other, beside that of *Minister* of the Pretended Reformed Religion. Others forbade the Singing of Psalms in Private Houses; some commanded them to cease Singing in their Churches when the Sacrament pass'd by, or at the time of any Profession. Others were made to hinder Marriages, at such times as were forbidden by the Church of *Rome*. Others forbade Ministers to Preach any where, or in the place of their usual Residence. Others forbade their settling in Parishes, unless sent by the *Synods*, tho' the *Catholics* should call them thither in form. Others were made to hinder *Synods* from sending to any Church more Ministers, than were there in the preceding *Synod*. Others, to hinder that design'd for the Ministry, to be educated in Foreign Universities. Others forbid all Foreign Ministers, tho' they had been Ordained in the Kingdom, and that there the greatest part of their Learning was spent. Others forbade Ministers, or Candidates for the Ministry, to reside in *Parishes*.

Preaching was forbidden, other than Six Leagues of the same. It forbade the People to Assemble in Churches, under pretence of Praying, or Singing of Psalms, except in the presence of a Minister appointed by the Synod. One ridiculous Law was made to take away all the Back Seats in the Churches, to reduce them all to an exact Uniformity. Another, to hinder the Churches that were somewhat Richer, to assist the poorer either towards the Maintenance of their Ministers, or other Necessities. Another was made to oblige Parents to send their Children, who should receive their Religion, great Pensions. Another to forbid Marriages betwixt Persons of different Religions, even in case of scandalous Cohabitation. Another to Prohibit those of the Reformed Religion, from that time, to entertain in their Houses any Domesticks, or Servants, that were Roman Catholics. Another which made them incapable of being Named Trustees or Guardians; and consequently put all the Minors, whose Parents Dyed in the Profession of the Pro-

Protestant Religion, under the P
and Education of Roman Catho
Another forbidding Ministers and B
to hinder any of their Flock, eithe
rectly or indirectly from embracing
Roman Religion, or to dissuade
from it. Another forbidding *Jews*
Mahometans to embrace the Refo
Religion, and the Ministers either
struct, or receive them into it. An
subjecting Synods to receive such R
Catholick Commissioners as should be
them from the King, with an ex
Order to do nothing, but in their
sence. Another forbidding the C
stories to assemble oftner than on
Fortnight, and then always in pres
of a Catholick Commissioner. An
forbidding Consistories to assist, on
tence of Charity the poor Sick Pe
of their Religion ; and ordaining
the Sick should be carryed into the
spitals, strictly forbidding any Ma
entertain them in their Houses. An
Confiscating in favour of the Hosp
all the Lands, Rents, and other Pro
what nature soever, which might
wise have appertained to any of the
dem

d Churches. And another forbid-
Ministers to come nearer than
Leagues to the Place where the
ges of Preaching were in Que-
or so much as contested. Another
cated to the Use of the Hospitals
Revenues, and Rents set a part
Maintenance of the Poor, even
Places where the Churches were
nding. Another subjecting Sick
ying Persons to the necessity of
ing Visits from Judges, Commis-
or Church-Wardens; as well as
Parish Priests, or their Curates,
s, Missionaries, or other Ecclesia-
thereby to induce them to change
Religion, or require of them ex-
Declarations concerning it. Ano-
or bidding Parents to send their
en under Sixteen Years of Age to
l in Foreign Countries, on any
ce whatsoever. Another Prohi-
Lords and Gentlemen to continue
ublick Exercise of Religion in
Families, without first producing
Titles before the Commissioners,
btaining their License for the same.
er which restrained the Right of

H

Enter-

Entertaining a Minister to those who were in Possession of their Living, even since the Edict of *Nantes*, in direct or collateral Line. Another which forbade the *Bailiwick* Churches to receive into them any of another *Bailiwick*. Another which enjoined Physicians, Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons to advertise the Parish Priests, or Magistrates, of the Condition of Sick *Patients* that they might visit them.

But amongst all these new Laws, those which have most served the Design and Intention of the Clergy, have been on one hand, such, as Prohibited receiving into their Assemblies any those who had changed their Religion, or their Children, or any *Roman Catholics* of what Age, Sex, or Condition soever, under pain of forfeiting their Churches, and the Ministers doing *them* *Honourable*, with Banishment and Confiscation of their Estates; and on the other hand, such, as that who enjoyed the setting up in all the Protestant Churches a particular Bench for the *Catholicks* to sit on; for by this means as soon as any one, but resolved
cha

his Religion, there needed no
 out to make him do it in private,
 en to find him next Morning in
 church, there to be observed by the
 icks, who were in their Seat: Up-
 ich immediatly Informations were
 ntly made, and Condemnations
 ed according to all the Rigor of
 w. The *Roman Catholicks* needed
 o come into the Church under pre-
 they had a place there, and then
 flipt in amongst the Croud, and
 diatly this was a Contravention, to
 eclaration, and was followed with
 avoidable Condemnation. 'Tis by
 means they have destroyed an incre-
 number of Churches, and put into
 a great many Innocent Ministers,
 Villains and False Witnesses were
 wanting on those occasions.

All those Proceedings
 so violent, that they
 not but make a strange
 ession in the Minds of

* Fifth Me-
 thod of Per-
 secution.

Reformed; and indeed a very little
 of Penetration was sufficient to dis-
 the Drift and Design of such ways.
 in effect there were many of them

that opened their Eye, and bethought themselves seriously of their safety, leaving the Kingdom; transported themselves some into one Kingdom, some into another, according as their several Inclinations led them. But this was what the Court no wise intended more than one reason; and therefore to hinder them, they renewed from time to time, the Decrees we have mentioned which strictly Prohibited, under most severe Penalties, any to depart the Realm without leave; And to this they strictly guarded all Passages on Frontiers. But all these Precautions did not Answer their Expectations; And 'twas thought worth their while to blinde the People, by hopes of abating this rigorous usage at Home, and hiding from them the mighty Design they had in view. And to that End in 1669, the King was perswaded to Revoke several violent Decrees, formerly given in Council, which produc'd the desired effect. For the Judicious saw well enough, that this Moderation sprang not from a Right Principle; and that, in the Sequel, the former Decrees were put in Execution.

the most part imagined they would confine themselves within some bounds, and not pass to a total Destruction of us.

We have often Drawn the same Conclusions from the several *Verbal* Declarations, which came many times from the King's own Mouth, as that he pretended to indulge us, but would do us perfect Justice, and permit us to enjoy the full Effects of the Edicts in their full Extent. That altho' he should be very glad to see all his Subjects Re-united to the Catholick Religion, and would for the sake thereof contribute all his Power to that End, should yet be no Blood shed during his Reign, nor any Violence exercised on this account. These precise and reiterated Declarations, gave us Assurance that the King would not forget them; that especially in *Essential* Matters he would suffer us to enjoy the effects of his Equity. This we were the more inclined to believe from a Letter he wrote to his Electoral Highness of *Brandenbourg*, Copies of which the Ministers of France took care to disperse through the whole Kingdom. Wherein His Majesty

assured him, that he was so well
satisfied with the Behavior of his Pro-
Subjects, and that having engaged
Royal Word to maintain them in
Rights and Privileges, his Intention
to let them enjoy the same, from wh
we drew this natural Conclusion;
he intended not utterly to extirpa
at that time.

To which we may add the Man-
nents sometimes used in the Cou
where some Churches were preserv
at the same time others were order
be demolished, to make the World
lieve, they observed some measure
Justice; and that those which they
demned, were consequently not gra
ded on good Titles. Sometimes
softned several too rigorous Decretal
ders of the Provincial Parliaments,
ther times they seemed not to app
of the Violences offered by the In-
dants and inferior Magistrates, so
even to give Orders to moderate or
pend them. And accordingly they
dered the execution of a certain Dec
made in the Parliament of Rouen, wh
enjoined those of the Reformed Relig

feel when they met the *Host*. Thus they stop too; The Prosecutions of my Judge at *Charanton*, who ordered to strike out of our Liturgy a Prayer proposed for the Faithful, that groaned under the *Tyranny of Antichrist*. 'Tis thus that they did not extremely favor further Persecution, which began to be mortal in the Kingdom against the Ministers, under pretence of obliging 'em to take an Oath of Allegiance, wherein several Clauses were incerted, contrary to what Ministers owe to their Charges and Religion. 'Twas thus likewise they retarded the execution of some Edicts, which themselves had made; as well to compel the Ministers to pay Taxes, as to oblige them to reside constantly in the place where they exercis'd their Function. With the same design the Syndicks of the Clergy, had the Art to let the principal Churches of the Kingdom alone many Years, without disturbing their Assemblies; whilst in the mean time they took away all those in the Country. They suspended also the condemnation of the Universities, and reserved 'em till the last. It was also in this view, that

at

at Court, they seemed at first not to believe, and at last not to approve of the excesses, which were committed in *Poitou*, by one *Marillac*, an Intendant of that Province, a Man both cruel and greedy to the highest degree, and so much to be sent in the High-way, that to be made Intendant of a Province tho' indeed he was let loose on purp for these Exploits.

But amongst all these tricking ways there are none more remarkable, than Five or Six, which it will not be proper here to relate. The First was That at the very time, when at Court, they issued out all the Decrees, Declarations, and Edicts, which we have before spoken of, and which they came to be put in Execution with the greatest Rigour : Nay, while they Intended the Churches, Demolish'd the Temples, deprived particular Persons of their Offices and Employments, reduced People to Poverty and Hunger, Imprisoned 'em, Loaded 'em with Fines, Banished 'em, and in a word, ravaged almost every yet at the same time the Intendants, Governors, Magistrates and other Officers

Paris, and over all the Kingdom, and gravely gave out that they had not the least Intention to the Edict of Nantes, but would most Religiously observe it. The second was, that in the same Edict, which was published to forbid Roman Catholics to embrace the Reformed Religion, which was in the Year 1682. is to say, at a time when they were already greatly advanced the Work of Destruction,) they caused a former Clause to be inserted in these Express Terms, That he confirmed the Edict of Nantes, as much as it was, or should be. The Third was, that in the Circular Letters which the King wrote to Bishops and Intendants, to oblige them to signify the Pastoral Admonitions of the Clergy, to our Consistories, calls them in so many Words. That their Intention was not that they should do any thing that might attempt, upon what had been granted to those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, by the Edicts and Declarations in their Favour. The Fourth, That an Express Declaration published at the latter End of the Year 1685. The

The King commanded, that the Ministers should not reside in the same Church, above the space of Three Years, nor return to the first, within the space of *Twelve*; and that they should be translated from Church to Church, at least Twenty Leagues distant from one another; supposing by a manifest Consequence that his Design was yet to permit the Exercise of Religion, to the Ministers in the Kingdom for *Twelve Years at least*. Tho' indeed they had at that Moment design'd the Revocation of the Edict, and had resolved it in the Council. The *Fifth*, consists in an Address presented to the King, by the Assembly of the Clergy at the same time that an Edict to revoke that of *Nantes* was drawing up, and actually put into the Hands of the Attorney General to model it; and in the Decree which was granted on this Address, the Clergy complained of the Misrepresentation which the Ministers are wont to make of the *Roman Church*, to which they ascribe, say they, Doctrines which they do not hold, and beseech'd his Majesty to provide against it, expressly declaring

that they did not yet desire the *Revocation* of the Edict, upon which, the King by his Decree, peremptorily forbade the Ministers to speak either good or bad, directly or indirectly, of the Church of Rome in their Sermons, from whence it is natural for every one to conclude, that was his Intention they should still teach. Were ever such pitiful and treacherous Shifts seen! Or was there ever any greater than this which was put into the very Edict we are speaking of. The King, after having cancelled and annulled the Edict of *Nantes*, and all that depended thereon; after having interdicted for ever all publick religious Exercises, after having forbidden and banished all the Ministers from his Kingdom, yet expressly declares, that his will is, that his other Subjects, who were not willing to change their Religion, might abide within the Realm in full Liberty, enjoy their Estates, and live with the same Freedom as heretofore, without being at all molested on Account of their Religion; till it should please God to enlighten and convert them. These were Amusements and
Snare

Snares to trapan the simple and unwary as it has since appeared, and still more and more every day by the horrible Usages they suffer, and of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

** The sixth
Method of
Persecution.*

* But we shall first mention another preparatory Stroke which the Persecutors have not failed to make use of, which we have reckon'd the first in order. It consists in disposing People insensibly to desire our Destruction, to approve it, when done, to diminish in their Minds that Horror which they must naturally have had, at the Cruelties and Injustices of our Persecutors. For this purpose several Methods were used, and the commonest has been the Sermons of the Missionaries and other contraversial Preachers, which the Kingdom was for some Years flock'd under the Title of *Royal Missions*. It was ordinary to chuse in France for this End the most virulent and hot-brained Zealots, who had such an Education given them, which far from making them moderate, rather inflamed them

; so that 'tis easy to apprehend
Actors these were like to be, when
not only found themselves upheld;
saw themselves moreover set on,
had express Orders given them to in-
their Hearers with Fury. And so
did they acquit themselves in this
er, that it was not their Fault if po-
Commutations did not follow in the
Cities, even in *Paris* it self, had
the Prudence of the Magistrates
ented them.

to the Preachers we must joyn the
fessors and Directors of Conscience,
Monks, the Parish Priests, and in
ral, all the Ecclesiasticks from the
est to the lowest; for as they were
ignorant of the true Intention of
Court in this Affair, every one
ld be striving who could show most
, and Aversion to the Reformed
gion, because they all found their
rest therein; this being the readiest
to raise and establish their For-
s. In this design of animating the
ole, there past few Days wherein
streets did not ring, as well with the
ication of Decrees, Edicts, and De-

elations, against the Protestants, as with Satyrical and seditious Libels which the People in the Towns of France are very greedy.

But these things served only for meaner sort of People, and the Persecutors had the Mortification to see their Design disapproved by all who were one Degree above the Mass. Wherefore they employed the Pen of some of their Authors, who had already acquired some Reputation in the World; and amongst others that of the Author of the History of Theodosius the Great, and that of Mr. Maimbourg, who before a Jesuit. This last publish'd his History of Calvinism, which he has since had the leisure to repent of, by the most test and weighty Answers which have been made to it. Their Example was follow'd by several others; and Monsieur *Naude* who loves always to make open such Matters, where he may vent his Spleen, would not deny himself the satisfaction here, of pleasing his Humour, at the same time of endeavouring to cover the Favour he had lost at Court. But altho' his *Apology for the Catholics*

work as full of Fire and Passion, as
Bigots themselves could have wish'd,
was it not relish'd, because his Per-
son was not ; he was so ill gratified for
that he complained thereof to the
Archbishop of Rheims in a Letter, the
Copies whereof were dispersed over all
France, amongst other Things he exag-
gerated his Misfortune, and compared
himself with another, who for much less
Favour had received from the King a
Pension of Twenty Thousand Livres.
This more and more expos'd the Cha-
racter of the Person.

However they stood in no great need
of him, as not wanting virulent Wri-
ters. Amongst whom we must not for-
get one Souldier, formerly (as they say)
a Sailor, and at present, Author of the
History of the *Edicts of Pacification* ; nor
Nicole, once a great *Jansenist*, and
now a Proselite of the Archbishop of
Paris ; Author of the Book entituled,
Protestants convinced of Schism. Nor
Author of the *Journal des Scavans*,
who in his ordinary Diaries fierce-
ly contends for the Catholick Faith's
being planted by Fire and Sword ; al-

ledging for the Proof thereof the ample of a King of Norway, who converted the Nobles of his Country threatening them to slay their Children fore their Eyes, if they would not conform to the new Religion, and have them baptized, and be baptized themselves. And for a long time together we have seen in Paris, and elsewhere nothing but such sort of Writings: such a Degree was their Passion heightened.

Whilst all these things, which we have observed, were transacting in France, and they by great Steps advanced to their End;

** The Methods taken by the Reformed for their Defence.*

not to be imagined that the Reformed neglected their common Interest, or did not all that

came a just and lawful Defence. They frequently sent from the remotest Provinces their Deputies to Court; maintained their Rights before the Council; thither they brought their Complaints from all Parts. They employed their Deputy General to defend their Interests, as well with the King and Ministers of State, as with

himself, sometimes also they presented general Addresses, in which they presented their Grievances, with all Humility and Deference that Subjects owe their Sovereign. But they were so far in this from being heard, that their Troubles were continually increased; and so their second Estate became worse than the first. The last petition presented to the King himself, and the Deputy General in March 1684, express'd in Terms the most submissive, and the most capable of moving, as every one may judge, it having since printed; and yet it produced no other Effect, but the hastning on what had been long resolv'd upon, namely, by open Force to compass our ruin.

This was effectually wrought about some Months past, and executed in a manner so terrible and so contagious, that as we said in the beginning, there are few in Europe, how distant soever from the Noise of the sick Occurrences, who have not heard Report of it; but 'tis certain the

*An Account
of the Dragon-
ning*

Circumstances are not known to and therefore we shall give an Account of them in few Words, were it but to stop or silence the Impudence of those who are not ashamed to publish, that Violences have been committed in *France*, and that all the Conversions that have been made with free and full Consent. They forthwith took the Method of quartering Souldiers in all the Provinces, almost at one and the same time, which were chiefly Dragoons that were generally the basest Troops of the Kingdom, and Fellows that will stick at nothing. Terror and Dread marched before them; and, as it was concerning all *France* was in an Instant filled with this News, that the King would no longer suffer any *Huguenots* in his Kingdom; and that they must resolve to change their Religion, nothing being able to prevent it.

They began with the Province of *Bearn*, where the Dragoons did the first Executions, which were followed soon after in the *higher and lower Guichenot, Xaintonge, Aunis, Poitou, the upper Languedoc, Vivarets, and Dauphine,*

which they came to the *Lioneois*, the
Dauphines, the *Lower Languedoc*, *Provence*,
Vallees, and the *Country of Gen*;
 afterwards they fell on the rest of the
Kingdom, *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, the *Ni-*
mois, and *Berry*; the *Countries* also
Orleans, *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Britany*, *Cham-*
pagne, *Picardy*, and the *Isle of France*,
 all extending to *Paris* it self, which
 all undergone the same Fate. The
 thing the *Intendants* were order'd
 to do, was to summon the *Cities* and
Communalities. They assembled the *In-*
habitants thereof, who profess the *Re-*
formed Religion, and told them, 'twas
 by the *King's Pleasure* they should without
 any turn *Catholicks*, which if they
 would not do freely, they should be
 made to do it by Force. The poor *Peo-*
ple, surprized with such a Declaration,
 made Answer, *They were ready to sacrifice*
their Estates, and Lives to the King, but
their Consciences being Gods, they could not
in that manner dispose of them.
 There needed no more to make them
 immediately bring the *Dragoons*, which
 were not far off, the *Troops* immediate-
 ly seized on the *Avenues* and *Gates*
 of

of the Cities ; they placed Guards in the Passages, and often enter'd with Sword in Hand, crying, *Dye or be Catholicks* : They were Quartered at discretion on the Reformed, with a charge, that none should depart out of their Houses, nor conceal any of their Goods or Effects on great Penalties, yea, even on the Catholicks, that should either receive or assist them in any manner. They began with consuming the Provisions the House afforded, gutting them of all their Money, Rings and Jewels ; and in fine, Bleeding them of whatsoever was most valuable. After this, they distrained the Houses Goods, inviting not only the Catholicks of the Place, but also those of the Neighbouring Cities and Towns to come and buy the said Goods, and other things that would yield Money. Afterwards they laid hands on their Persons, and there was no Weakness, or Horror, which they did not put in Practice, to force them to change their Religion.

Amidst a Thousand hideous Lamentations and horrid Blasphemies, they hung Men and Women by the Hair

Head, or the Feet, to the Roofs of Chamber, or to the Racks in the Sneyes, and there Smok'd 'em with Pos of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it ; and when they smok'd 'em down, if they would not sign, they hung 'em up immediately again. They pluck'd off the Hair of their Heads, and Beards, with Pincers, till there was left none remaining.

They threw them on great Fires kindled on purpose and pull'd them not out till they were half roasted. They ty'd Ropes under their Arms, and Plung'd them again and again in Wells from whence they would not take them up, though they had promised to renounce their Religion. They bound them as they do Criminals, put to the Question ; and in that Posture, with a Funnel, they poured Fire down their Throats, till the Fumes of it depriving them of their Reason, they were made to say they would convert to be Catholicks. They strip'd them naked, and after having offer'd them a Thousand infamous Indignities, they stuck them with Pins from top to bottom. They lanc'd them with Pen-knives,

knives, and sometimes with red hot
cers, took them by the Nose, and
dragged them about the Room, till
promised to turn Catholicks, or till
Cries of those poor Wretches, that
this Condition called on God for
stance, constrained them to let 'em
They Bastinadoed them most cruelly
and then dragg'd them thus bruised
the Churches, where this forced
pearance of theirs, was accounted
Abjuration; they kept them from
ping Seven or Eight Days together,
relieving one another, that they might
watch them Night and Day, and keep
them still Waking: They sometimes
threw Buckets of Water on their Faces
they tormented them a Thousand ways
and held over their Heads Kettles
ned downwards, whereon they made
a continual Dinn, till these poor
tures had even lost their Senses. In
any time they found any Sick Person
either Men or Women, that kept the
Beds, with Feavers or other Diseases
they had the Cruelty to bring a Number
of Drums, to beat an Alarm about
them for whole Weeks together, with

any Intermiſſion, till they ſhould
their Word they would change.
s in ſome Places happen'd, that
have tyed Fathers and Huſbands
e Bed Poſts, while before their Eyes
Raviſhed their Wives and Daugh-
without even being brought to
ign Punishment for it. They pluckt
he Nails from the Hands and Toes
me, which was not to be endured
out intolerable Torment. They
both Men and Women up with
ows even till they were ready to

after theſe horrid uſages, there
yet any that refuſed to turn, they
iſoned them; and for this choſe
geons the moſt Dark and Noyſom;
hich they exerciſed on them all ſorts
humanity. In the mean time they
oliſhed their Houſes, deſolated their
ds, cut down their Woods, and ſeiz-
their Wives and Children, to Impri-
them in Monafteries. When the
iers had devour'd and conſumed all
was in an Houſe, the Royal Far-
furniſhed them with ſubſiſtence,
to reimburse themſelves, Sold by
Au-

Authority of Justice the Estates of
Gentlemen, and put themselves in
possession thereof. If some to secure
Consciences, and escape the Tyranny
of these merciless Men, endeavoured
save themselves by flight, they were
sued and hunted in the Fields and Woods
and shot at like wild Beasts. In order
to which the Provosts Patrolled upon
High Ways, and the Magistrates of
Towns had orders to stop all them
without exception, and bringing them
to the Places from whence they
they used them like Prisoners of War.

But we must not fancy that this Story fell only on the common sort, No men and Gentlemen of the best Quality were not exempted from it. They Soldiers Quartered upon them in the same manner, and were treated with the very same fury as Citizens and Peasants were. They plundered their Houses, wasted their Goods, rased their Castles, cut down their Woods, forced away their Children, and their very Persons were exposed to the Insolence and Barbarity of the Dragoons, no less than others. They spared neither Sex, Age,

Quality, where ever they found unwillingness to obey the Command changing their Religion, they practis'd the same Violences. There were remaining some Officers belonging to the Parliaments, who underwent the same Fate, after having been first deprived of their Offices ; nay, even the Military Officers, who were actually in the Field, were ordered to quit their Post and Quarters, and repair immediately to their Houses, there to suffer the like ; if to avoid it, they would not offend the Catholicks. Many Gentlemen, and other Persons of Quality, and many of a great Age, and of Ancient Families, seeing all these Outrages, hoped to find some Retreat in *Paris*, or at least ; never imagining the Dragoons would come to seek them out so near the King's Presence. But this hope was more vain than all the rest, for immediately there was a Decree of Council, which commanded them to leave *Paris*, and the Court, within few Days, and to depart without delay to their own Houses, with a Prohibition to all Persons to entertain or lodge them in their Houses.

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Some

Some having attempted to petition King, complaining of these cruel Usages, and humbly beseeching his Majesty to stop the Course of them, could obtain no other Answer, but that of being sent to the *Bastille*, where they suffer'd the same Persecutions.

Before we proceed further, 'twill not be amiss to make here some Remarks.

the first shall be, that almost every where at the Head of these infernal Legions, besides the Commanders and Military Officers, the *Intendants* and *Bishops* manage every one in his Province or Diocese with a Troop of Missionaries, Monks, and other Ecclesiastics.

The *Intendants* gave such Orders as they thought most effectual to carry on Conversions; and to restrain natural Liberty and Compassion; if at any time they should find (which was not often) Place in the Hearts of the Dragoons of their Commanders. And as for the Lords the *Bishops*, they were then to keep open House, to receive Abjurators, and to have a general and severe Inspection, that every Thing might pass conformably to the

ing to the Intentions of the Clergy. Missionaries and Ecclesiasticks were to animate the Soldiers to such an action so agreeable to the Church, so glorious to God and his Majesty. The second Thing observable is, that the Dragoons had made any yield, the Horrors which they practised, immediately changed their Quarters, sent them to those who still persevered. This order was strictly observ'd in manner, even to the end, insomuch, those who persever'd to the last, and shewn the greatest Constancy, had the whole Number of the Dragoons, at the beginning were dispers'd amongst all the Inhabitants equally, quar- upon them alone, which was in- a Load impossible to be born. Third Remark, which we shall make, that in almost all the considerable Cities and Towns, they took care before sent Troops thither, to gain by means of the Intendants, or some other underhand Way, a certain Number of men, not only to change their Religion themselves, when it should be required; but also to assist in perverting others.

K 2

others. So that when the Dragoons sufficiently play'd their Part, the Indants with the Bishop, and the Commander of the Forces, would again assemble these miserable Inhabitants, who were now utterly ruin'd to exhort them to obey the King, and become Catholics; adding withal the most terrible Threats that could be to over-awe them, and then those they had before gain'd never fail'd to execute what they had pre-engag'd, which they did with more success, inasmuch as the People did as yet, put some kind of Confidence in them.

A fourth Observation is, that when the Master of the House thinking to get rid of the Dragoons, had obey'd and sign'd what they would, he was not freed from all this, if his Wife, Children, or the meanest of his Domesticks, did not do the same; and if his Wife, or any of his Children, or Family fled, they ceas'd not tormenting him, till he had made their return; which oftentimes being impossible, the change of his Religion did not at all avail him.

The fifth is, that when these poor Wretches

atches fancied their Consciences
 at be at rest, by signing some Form
 in equivocal Abjuration, which was
 tender'd on purpose to ensnare them,
 the Villains would in some short time
 come to them again, and make them
 one sufficiently strong and binding,
 which drove them into the utmost De-
 . Nay farther, they had the Base-
 to make 'em declare, that they em-
 ed the Romish Religion of their own
 and free Consent, without having
 won to it by any indirect or vio-
 means. If after this they scrupl'd to
 Mass, or did not communicate, if
 did not assist at Procession, or omit-
 going to Confession, if they did not
 over their Beads, or if a Sigh slip'd
 on them, signifying their Unwilling-
 , they had immediately Fines laid on
 , and were forc'd to receive again
 or old Guests the *Dragoons*.

The sixth and last Remark is. As fast
 the Troops ravaged in this manner
 Provinces, spreading Terror and
 Solation in all Parts, Orders were sent
 all the Frontiers and Seaport Towns,
 tly to guard the Passes, and stop all

such as pretended to escape out of the Kingdom ; so that there was hardly any Hope for these poor Wretches, to save themselves by *Flight*. None being permitted to pass without having a Certificate, either from his Bishop, or Coroner, that he was a Catholick, those who had not, were put in Prison, and used like Traytors. As for any Permission freely to depart 'twas in vain to attempt it. That was constantly deny'd ; and all foreign Vessels lying in the several Ports were narrowly searched ; the Coasts, Bridges, Passages to Rivers, and the High-ways were all carefully guarded, both Night and Day. And the Persecution was carry'd to that Height, that some of the neighbouring States were requir'd not to harbour any more Refugees, and even to send back such as they had already received. Attempts were also made to seize on, and carry away some who had escap'd into foreign Countries.

Whilst all this was now acting in the Kingdom, the Court were no less busy in consulting to give the finishing Stroke
which

which consisted in rigging
 an Edict to repeal that
 Nantes. Much Time
 spent in drawing it up,
 for Matter and Form,
 some would have the King detain
 the Ministers, and force them as
 well as the Laity to change their Re-
 ligion, or else condemn them to perpe-
 tual Imprisonment. They alledged,
 that if that were not done, they would
 be as so many dangerous and invete-
 rate Enemies against him in foreign
 Transactions. But others, on the contrary, af-
 firmed, that as long as the Ministers
 continued in *France*, their Presence
 would encourage the People to perse-
 vere to the utmost in their Religion,
 whatsoever Care might be taken to hin-
 der it; and that supposing they should
 change, they wou'd be but as so many
 secret Adversaries, sheltered within the
 bosom of the Romish Church, so much
 more dangerous as their Knowledge
 and Experience in controversial Matters
 is great. This last Reasoning prevail-
 ed, and so the Resolution was taken
 to banish the Ministers, and to allow
 them

*The Revoca-
 tion of the
 Edict of
 Nantes.*

them no longer time than fifteen Days to depart the Kingdom. And then the Draught thereof was deliver'd to the Attorney General of the Parliament of *Paris*, to draw it up in such Form, as he should judge most fitting. But before the publishing of it, two Things were thought necessary to be done; the first was to oblige the Assembly of the Clergy at their breaking up, to present to the King the above-mention'd Address in which they told his Majesty, they desired not for the present the repealing the Edict of *Nantes*. And the other was to issue out an Order of Council to suppress all kind of Books, made by those of the Reformed Religion, by the first of these, the Clergy thought to shelter themselves from the Reproaches, which might be cast on them, as the Authors of so many Miseries, Calamities, and Oppressions, as this Repeal would inevitably occasion, and by the other they pretended to make the Conversions, (as they stiled them) much more easy, and confirm those which had been already made, by taking from the People all Books, which might either instruct, fortify, or bring them back again.

To conclude, this Revocative Edict of *Nantes*, was sealed and published on *Monday*, the Eighteenth of *October*, in the Year 1685. The Court being then at *Fontainbleau*, 'tis said Monsieur *Letelier* then Chancellor of *France*, shew'd extreme Joy at the sealing it; but it lasted not long, this being the last of his holding the Seals, for as soon as he returned from *Fontainbleau*, he fell immediately sick, and dyed within a few Days; leaving both the Reformed and others matter for Reflection on the Fate of the Persecutors, into the Number of whom, his Politicks rather than his natural Inclination had forc'd him in his later Days.

This Edict was registred in the Parliament of *Paris* on *Monday* the 22th following, in the Vacation contrary to all Form. And presently after it was pass'd in like manner in the other Parliaments.

It contains in it, a Preamble and twelve Articles. In the Preamble, the King shews how neither *Henry the Great* his Grandfather, did give the Edict, nor *Louis the XIII.* his Father, confirm'd it, by

by his other Edict of *Nismes*, but with a Design of endeavouring more effectually the Re-union of their Subjects to the pretended reformed Religion, to the Catholick Church, and that this was also the very Design which he had himself at his first Accession to the Crown. That he had been hindered in this by the Wars, which he was forced to carry on against the Enemies of his Crown and State; but that at present being at Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, he wholly gave himself to the bringing about this Re-union. That God having been graciously pleas'd to enable him to accomplish it, seeing the greatest and best Part of his Subjects of the said Religion had embraced the Catholick, these Edicts of *Nantes* and *Nismes*, with others, were consequently become void and useless.

By the *first Article*, he therefore suppresses and repeals them in all their Extent; and ordains that all the *Protestant Churches* yet standing in the Kingdom of *France*, and in all the Countries, Territories, and Lordships under his Obedience

ence, should immediately be demolished. By the *Second*, he forbids all sorts of Assemblies for the Exercise of the said Religion, be they of what kind ever. The *Third* prohibits religious exercises in the Families to all Lords and Gentlemen of Quality, under corporal Punishments and Confiscation of their Estates. The *Fourth* banishes all the Ministers out of his Kingdom, and territories thereto belonging, and enjoins them to depart thence within fifteen Days after the Publication of this edict, under Pain of being sent to the Gallies. By the *fifth* and *sixth*, he promises Rewards and Advantages to the Ministers who should change their Religion, as also to their Widows after them. In the *seventh* and *Eighth*, he forbids the instructing of Children in the pretended Reformed Religion; and ordains that those who shall be born henceforward shall be baptized, and educated in the Catholick Religion; enjoining their Parents to send them for this End to the Churches, under the Penalty of being fined 500 Livres. The *Ninth* gives four Months time to such Persons
as

as have already departed the Kingdom to return; otherwise their Goods and Estates to be confiscated. The *ten* with repeated Prohibitions, forbids his Subjects of the said Religion to depart out of his Realm, either they, their Wives or their Children, or to convey away their Effects, under Pain of the Gallies for the Men, and of Confiscation of Body and Goods for the Women. The *Eleventh*, confirms the Declaration heretofore made against those that relapsed. The *Twelfth* declares, that as to the rest of his Subjects of the said Religion, they might till God enlighten them, remain in the Cities of his Kingdom, Countries and Lands under his Obedience, and there continue their Commerce or Trade and enjoy their Estates, without being troubled or molested upon Pretence of the said Religion, on Condition only that they hold no Assemblies under Pretext of praying or exercising publicly, any kind of religious Worshipping.

The Consequences of the Revocation.

In Execution of this Edict, the very same day that it was registred and published at Paris they

began to demolish the Church of
renton. The oldest Minister thereof
commanded to leave *Paris* within
and twenty Hours, and forthwith
depart the Kingdom. For this End,
put him into the Hands of one of
Kings Footmen, with Orders not to
leave him till he was out of his Domi-
ns. His Collegues were little better
treated; they gave them forty eight
Hours to quit *Paris*, and left them after-
wards, to pursue their Journey upon
their Parole. The rest of the Ministers
were allow'd the fifteen days; but it can
scarcely be believed to what Vexations
and Cruelties, they were exposed. First
of all, they neither permitted them to
dispose of their Estates, nor to carry
away any of their Moveables or Effects;
then, they disputed them their Books,
and private Papers, on Pretence, that
they must first justify, that these their
Books and Papers did not belong to the
Consistories wherein they served, which
was a Thing impossible, since there were
no Consistories then remaining. Besides,
they would not give them leave to take
leave with 'em either Father or Mother,

Brother or Sister, or any of their Kindred though there were many of them infirm, decay'd or poor, which could not subsist but by their Means. They went so far, as even to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years old; nay, some they took from them that were under that Age and even such as yet hang'd upon their Mothers Breasts; and refused the Nurses for their new born Infants which the Mothers could not give suck to.

In some frontier Places they stopp'd and imprison'd them, upon divers ridiculous Pretences, sometimes alledging they must prove that they were really the same Persons which their Certificates mention'd. At other times they wanted to be inform'd whether there were no criminal Proceedings or Informations against them, and sometimes again they would force them to prove that they carry'd away nothing that belonged to their Flocks. Then after they thus detain'd and amused them, they would tell them that the Fifteen Days of the Easter

re expired, and they could not long have Liberty to retire, but must consent to the Gallies. There was a kind of Deceit or Treachery which they did not make use of to molest them.

As to the rest, whom the Force of persecution and hard Usage constrained to leave their Houses and Estates, and fly the Kingdom, 'tis not to be imagined what Dangers they exposed themselves to. Never were Orders more severe or more strict, than those that were given against them. They doubled the Guards in Sea-port Cities, Highways, and Foards; they cover'd the Country with Souldiers; they armed even the Peasants either to stop, or kill, those that passed; they forbid all the Officers of the Customs to suffer any Goods, Moveables, Merchandize, or other Effects to pass. And in a word, they forgot nothing that might hinder the Flight of the persecuted, even to the interrupting almost all Commerce with the neighbouring Nations. By these means, they quickly filled all the Prisons in the Kingdom; for the Dread

of the Dragoons, the Horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and the Children taken from them, and of living, for the future in a Land, where there was neither Justice nor Humanity *for them*, oblig'd every one to the thought of an Escape, and to abandon all to save their Persons. All these poor Prisoners have been since treated with unheard of Rigour, confin'd in Dungeons loaded with heavy Chains, almost starved with Hunger; and deprived of all Converse, but that of their Persecutors. They put many into Monasteries, where they have experienc'd some of the worst of Cruelties: Some indeed have been happy as to dye in the midst of the Torments, but others have at last succumb'd under the Weight of their Temptations, and some again by the extraordinary Assistance of God's Grace, do sustain it with an Heroick Courage.

These have been the Consequences of this new Edict, but who would have believed that the *Twelfth Article* would have sheltered the *rest* of the Reformed, that had a Mind still to live in the Kingdom; since this Article

expressly assure them, that they might
therein, continue their Trade, and
enjoy their Estates without being at all
troubled or molested upon pretence of
their Religion. Yet behold what they
have done, and still are doing to these
poor Wretches, they did not recall the
regiments, and other Souldiers, which
had been sent into the Provinces before
the Edict: On the contrary, they to
this Day, commit with greater Fury,
the same Inhumanities and Barbarities,
which we have before represented: Be-
sides this, they have filled those Pro-
vinces since with Souldiers, where there
were none before, as *Normandy, Picardy,*
Ferry, Champagne, the Nivernois, Orleans,
the Blefois, and the Isle of France. They
exercise the same Violence, exert the
same Fury there, as they do in other
provinces. *Paris* it self, where methinks
this Article of the Edict should have
been best observ'd, because so near the
King's Presence, and more immediately
under the Government of the Court,
Paris, I say, was no more feared than
the rest of the Kingdom. The very
day the Edict was published, without

more delay, the Attorney General, and some other Magistrates, began to send for the Heads of Families to come to them, they declar'd to 'em, that 'twas absolutely the King's Will they should change their Religion; that they were no better than the rest of his Subjects and that if they would not do it willingly, the King would make use of those means which he had ready to compel them to it. At the same time, they banish'd by Letters under the privy Seal the Elders of the Consistory, together with some others in whom they found the most Constancy and Resolution; and the better to disperse them, chose out such Places as were most remote from Commerce, where they have ever since used them with a great deal of Cruelty; some have comply'd, but others are yet under Sufferings.

The Diligence of the Attorney General, and Magistrates, not succeeding fully as they wish'd, tho' Threats and Menaces were not wanting; *Monsieur de Seignelay*, Secretary of State would also try what Influence he could have within his Jurisdiction at *Paris*, for the

and he got together about an Hundred, an Hundred and twenty Merchants, and others, into his Palace, and after having caused the Doors to be shut, he forthwith presented them with a certain Form of Abjuration, and commanded them in the King's Name presently to sign it; declaring, that they should not stir, till they had obeyed. The contents of that Form were, not only that they did renounce the *Heresy of Calvin*, and enter into the Catholick Church, but also as they did this *voluntarily*, and without being forc'd or compell'd to it. This was done in a most imperious manner, and with an haughty Air of Authority: There were that dar'd to open their Mouths, but they were sharply answered, that they were not to dispute, but obey; so that they all sign'd before they went out.

To these Methods, they added others more terrible, as Prisons, the actual Seizure of their Effects and Papers, the taking away of their Children; the Separation of Husbands and Wives; and a fine, the hard Method, that is to say, *Dragoons*. Those that most firmly stood

stood out, they sent to the *Bastille*, to the *Fort Léneque* ; The Houses of many as they could not find, or had themselves, were seal'd up ; they plunder'd many others, not sparing the Persons, just as they had done in other Places.

Thus the *Twelfth* Article of the *Edict*, which promised some Relaxation or Shadow of Liberty, was nothing but an egregious deceit to amuse the credulous, and keep them from thinking to make their Escape, a Snare to catch them with the more Ease.

Fury still kept on its usual course, and was heated to such a degree, as not content with the Desolation committed in the Kingdom, it reached even into *Orange*, a Sovereign Principality, where the King of Right has no Power, and thence taking the Ministers away by Force, transported them into his Prisons. Thither the Dragoons were likewise sent, where they executed all kind of Mischiefs and Villany, and by force constrained the Inhabitants thereof, both Men, Women, and Children, nay, and

very Officers of the Prince, to change
their Religion.

This was the State of Things in the
later End of the Year 1685. and the
full Accomplishment of the Threats, the
Burgundy had made us three Years before,
towards the End of their Pretended Pa-
poral Letter. *Ye must expect Misery in-
comparably, more dreadful and intolerable
than all those, which hitherto your Revolt
and your Schism have drawn upon you.* And
truly they have not been worse than
their Word, there are some notwith-
standing in the Kingdom who still a-
re firm; and their Persecutions are
still continued to them; new Torments
are daily invented against those whom
force has made to change their Reli-
gion, because they are still observed to
sigh and Groan under their hard Bon-
dage, their Heart detesting what their
Mouths have Profest, or their Hands
signed. As to such as have escaped in-
to foreign Countries, who are at least,
an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons,
their Estates are confiscated; this being
all the hurt they can do them at present.
I say, at present; for 'tis not questioned, but
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our Persecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties further. But we must hope in God, that whatsoever Intrigues they may have of destroying the Protestant Religion in all Places, he will not permit them to effect their Design. The World will surely open its Eyes; and this which they have now been doing with an high Hand, and worse than barbarous Fury, will shew not only the Protestants, but the wise and sober Catholicks, what they are to expect both one and other, from such a sort of People.

* *Reflections upon all these cruel Persecutions.* In effect, he that sheweth himself but the least able to reflect on the matters of fact which we have just now related, the which are manifestly evident, notorious, and acted in the Face of the Sun, shall see not only the Protestants oppressed, but the King's Honour sullied, his Countries damnified, all the Princes of *Europe* Interested; nay even the Pope himself, with his whole Church and Clergy, shamefully disgraced, and defamed.

* For to begin with the
ing himself; what could be
re contrary to his Digni-
than to put him upon
aking his Word, and perswading him
t he might lawfully, and with a safe
nscience violate, by a Thousand Con-
ventions and Breaches, and at last
erly revoke and annul, so solemn an
ict as was that of *Nantes*.

That Edict which was granted by
ry the Great in the Year 1598. hath
ar Incontestable Characters that are
ified by the very Text it self. 1. That
was a Royal and Sovereign *Promise*,
ich he granted, not only for himself,
d for the Term of his own Reign, but
o for that of all his Descendants and
ccessors for ever. 2. That of being
Solemn, Definitive, and Irrevocable
ree, pronounced by the Sovereign
agistrate, to continue for ever, as a
egulation and Law between the two
ntending Parties, the *Roman Catho-*
ks, and the Protestants, after both
d been duly and sufficiently heard.
That of being a Treaty or Accord ac-
pted, agreed upon, and consented to,
by

by the whole Realm in Quality of perpetual Law and Regulation. And That of having been made sacred, and even divine, by the reciprocal Oath of the whole Nation.

I say, that these four Characters are incontestable, and to be justified from the very Text of the Edict. The first is evident from the Preamble, where the King, after having exhorted the Subjects rightly to understand, that in the Obligation of that Law did consist the chief Foundation of their Union, and Concord, Tranquility and Peace, and the Restoration of the State to it's primitive Splendor, Wealth and Dignity, he adds, *we on our Part promise to cause the same exactly to be observ'd, and not to suffer it to be any ways violated,* and then to shew he meant that his Promise should oblige his Posterity and Successors, he declares he grants it *as an Edict perpetual and irrevocable.* And having particularly express'd the Articles of it, he concludes, in these Words, *we declare expressly, that our Will is, that this our Edict be firmly and inviolably kept and observ'd by all our Justices, Officers, and all other our Subjects, and that no Respect or Re-*

shall be had to any thing that might be contradictory to, or derogatory from the same.

And accordingly Lewis XIII. at his Accession to the Crown, lookt upon it as a Law to the Observation whereof he and himself engaged, acknowledging his Declaration, that it was an *Edict* perpetual and irrevocable, which stood in no need of being confirmed, the King now signing has acknowledg'd the same upon several Occasions. This is then a Royal Word and Promise of Henry the Great, not only on behalf of himself, but also in behalf of his Posterity, and thence follows; that 'tis a Condition annex'd to his Inheritance and Crown never to be separated from it.

The second Character is no less certain and manifest than the first, it appears by the Preamble of the Edict, wherein the King declares that he did not grant this Law, but till after he had on one Side consider'd the Representations of Catholick Subjects, and on the other Side admitted his Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion to meet by their Representatives, draw up theirs, and to put together all

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their Remonstrances, and upon that Account conferr'd with them at several Times. And finding, that he judged it necessary to set forth at present, upon Consideration of the whole Matter to all his said Loving Subjects, a Letter that might be universal, clear, plain, and absolute whereby they should regulate themselves upon all Differences, which formerly did, hereafter might arise betwixt them. This is then a Judgment after a fair Hearing of both Sides, and a Regulation no less fit to adjust all former Differences, than to put an end to those that might happen thereafter ; and consequently, 'tis a perpetual and irrevocable Edict, as he terms himself ; not in a titular Way only, as Kings are sometimes wont to express themselves, but really and in its own Nature. And accordingly he further declares he gives it, after having, with the Advice of the Princes of his Blood, the other Princes, the Crown Officers, and other Graciously and notable Members of his Council of State being near him, diligently weighed and considered the whole Matter.

As for the third Character, there can not be desir'd a better Proof than its having been registred, in all the Courts

Parliament of the Realm, in the Chambers of Accounts, Courts of *Ayds*, *Bayle-cks*, *Seneschalseas*, *Provostships*, and all other Jurisdictions whatsoever, according to it was order'd by the last Article hereof. The Parliament indeed of *Paris*, and *Toulouse*, a little scrupled it at first, but those Difficulties were soon over, and there was no Opposition either from the Clergy or from the Body of the Catholics, on the contrary, the Promulgation of it was with the full Consent of the whole Realm, as even the aforementioned *Bernard* Counsellor of *Beziers* hath acknowledged in his pretended Explanation of the Edict of *Nantes*. After the publication of this Edict, says he, the King sent Commissioners into all the Provinces of the Kingdom to put it in Execution, and to re-establish his Religion where it had been disused, but we do not find by the verbal Relations of those Commissioners, that they did any thing considerable, or that any Controversies were brought before them, concerning the Exercises of Religion, and other Important Matters, either because they were willing to prevent the reviving of the Differences already terminated, and the kindling a-new the Hears.

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that were so lately appeas'd; or because the Exercise of the Catholick Religion having been interrupted a long while in many Places they were content to have it every where restored.

As to the fourth Character one need only read the xcii Article, wherein the King ordains in expresse Terms, that the Observation of his Edict shall be sworn to by all the Governors and Lord Lieutenants of Provinces, Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other ordinary Judges, by Mayors, Aldermen, Capitouls, Consuls, and Jurats or Sheriffs, either Annual, or by Patent for Life, also by the Principal Inhabitants of Cities and Towns, as well Catholicks as Protestants, and lastly by the Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, and Court of Ayds. All which was punctually executed accordingly.

Any the least of these Characters were sufficient, one might think, tho' separated from the rest, to put the Edict out of the Reach of the Capriciousness and Fickleness of such is our Will and Pleasure for who can doubt but that a King is oblig'd to keep his Word, and his Faith and likewise that of his Predecessors too, when the same is become a Condition

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separably annexed to the Succession; undoubtedly it is, if it has been granted under the Quality of a solemn, perpetual, and irrevocal Promise. It were impertinent to say, that a King can't oblige himself towards his own Subjects, or that it is inconsistent with his Sovereignty. For not to enter into the Discussion of that Principle, which would lead us too far, if examin'd with Application, I say, if the solemn Promises of Kings do not oblige them towards their Subjects, they at least are obligatory *to themselves*. A King sure is no better than God. Who so' he be infinitely elevated above his creature, all Divines nevertheless agree that his Promise binds him so far *to himself* that it is immutable, for which Reason the Scripture so often speaks of his *Fidelity* and *Veracity*, in the Performance of the Conditions contained in his Covenant with us. Who can doubt, but a King may bind himself to observe and can't lawfully violate to be observ'd the Laws which Justice has inclin'd him to grant his Subjects, for regulating their Differences by the Rules of Right Reason, and preserving them all from their mutual Oppres-

sions? How much more then is he bound when his Subjects also on both Sides have agreed to it; and the Law made for both their mutual Benefits, is become the *publick Faith* of his whole Kingdom. And how much more yet when the Covenant, or Treaty has been reciprocally and solemnly sworn to, by a whole Nation, and God himself become thereby the *Depository and Avenger* of it? How is it then possible that those evil Counsellors should have perswaded the King, to break through all the Barriers of Justice, Fidelity, and Conscience; and without any regard either to God, the State, or himself, to make his Power his *only Rule*.

To palliate in some sort the Violence of this Procedure they make him say in this new Edict, *that the best and greatest Part of his Subjects, of the pretended reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick; and that therefore the Execution of the Edict of Nantes, with whatsoever else has been done in Favour of the same Religion was become void*. But is not this an Evasion unworthy of his Majesty, seeing that if this best and greatest Part of his Subjects of the reformed

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formed Religion embraced the Catholic; is certain they have been constrain'd to by Force, and the cruel and furious Oppression which his Troops have laid on them.

Perhaps this might indeed be said, had he better and greater Part of his Subjects chang'd their Religion of their own Accord, altho' that in this Case too, the Privileges of the Edict must have continued for those that remain'd. But after having forc'd them to change by the horrible Inhumanities of his Dragoons, after having depriv'd them of the Liberty which the Edict gave 'em; to say coldly, that he only revokes the Edict, because it is now become *useless*, is a Raillery unfitting so great a Monarch; for it is as much as if he said, that he was indeed oblig'd to continue to his Protestant Subjects all the Privileges due to them; but that having himself overthrown them by *Major Force*, he finds himself at present lawfully and fairly disengag'd from his Obligation; which is just as if a Father, who himself had cut his Childrens Throats, should glory in the being from that time forward freed from the Care of

of nourishing and protecting them. And Kings wont thus to exprels themselves in their Edicts!

What they make him further say, wit, that *Henry the Great*, his Grandfather of glorious Memory, granted the Edict of *Nantes* to those of the pretended reformed Religion only, that he might the better effect their Re-union to the Roman Church; that *Lewis the xiii* also his Father of glorious Memory had the same Design when he gave the Edict of *Nismes*; and that he himself had entred therein at his coming to the Crown is but a pitiful Salvo, but taking it for granted since they will have it so, and let us state it nakedly and literally in the Sense they give it us in, what can we conclude thence, but these following Propositions? (1) That *Henry the Great* and *Lewis the xiii* granted those Edicts to our Forefathers only on purpose to deceive them, and with an Intent afterwards to ruin them with the greater Facility, under the Mask of this Fraud. (2) That not being themselves able to effect this, being hindred by their other Affairs, they committed this most important Secret to his present Majesty, to the

should execute it, when he met with
fitting Opportunity. (3) That his pre-
sent Majesty entering into the Thought of
this; at his first coming to the Crown,
confirm'd those Edicts, and set forth
Declarations of 1642 and 1652, with
other Decrees advantageous to the Re-
formed Religion only, the more cun-
ingly to impose on them, and lay
bars in their Way, or if you please, to
down them, as they crown'd of old the
victims when they were to be sacrific'd.

) That all that has been done against
them since the Peace of the *Pirennées*, till
this very time, according to the Abridg-
ment which we have here made of it, has
been only the Execution of a Project,
or even of a Project far more Ancient
than we imagin'd, seeing we must date
from the time of the granting the Edict
of *Nantes* it self, and go back as far as to
Henry the Great for it, and in fine, that
that which has been till now a great and
profound Mystery is no longer so; see-
ing the King by this new Edict discovers
to all the World, that he may be ap-
plauded for it.

Can any body but confess, that if the
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Enemies of *France* had undertaken to discredit the Conduct of it's Kings, and render them odious to the World, they could not have taken a more successful Course. *Henry the Great* gives his Edict to the Protestants, with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, he gives it them as a Recompense of their Services, he promises solemnly to observe it.; and as this was not enough, he binds it on the whole Kingdom by an Oath; he executes it to the utmost of his Power; and they peaceably enjoy'd it to the End of his Reign; yet all this is but a mere Snare, for they are to be dragoon'd at a proper time; but seeing himself surpriz'd by Death he could not do it, he leaves it in Charge to *Lewis the XIII.* his Son.

Lewis the XIII. ascends the Throne, issues out his Declaration immediately that he acknowledges the Edict of *Nantes* as perpetual and irrevocable, and such as needed not any new Confirmation, and that he would religiously observe every Article of it, and therefore sends Commissioners accordingly to see it actually put in Execution. When he took up Arms, he protested

at he had no Design at Religion ; and Truth he permitted the full Liberty of even in those very Towns he took Assault, he gives after this his Edict *Nismes* as the Edict of a *Triumphant* Prince, declaring nevertheless that his Intention therein was that, *that of Nantes* should be inviolably kept, and accordingly kept it himself to his dying Days. That this is only intended, forsooth, to lull the Protestants asleep till a favourable Occasion to destroy them should present.

Lewis the XIV. at his coming to the Crown, confirms the Edict and declares that he will maintain the Reform'd in their Privileges ; he afterwards confirms in another Declaration, how highly he is satisfied with their Services ; and justifies his Design of establishing them in the Enjoyment of their Rights, but this is all but a meer Amusement, and an Artifice to entrap them, the better to colour over the Project of ruining them at a convenient time. What a Character now of the most Christian Kings will this give to the Enemies of *France*, and to all foreign Nations ? And what

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Confidence can they imagine will henceforth put in any of their Promises and Treaties? For if they deal thus with their own Subjects, and careles 'em only to ruin them, what can Strangers expect?

Let us a little consider how they introduce the King, saying, that at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the Design which he has now been just executing. They mean without doubt from the time he actually took the Reigns of Government in hand, for he was too young before to enter personally on any Design of this Nature: He enter'd on it then, precisely at the time when the Civil Wars which had been during his Minority were ended. But what does this mean, but that he engag'd in this Design at the very time when the Protestants came from rendering him the most important Service, that Subjects were ever capable of doing their Prince. They came from giving him the highest Testimonies of Loyalty imaginable, when the greatest Part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him, they had vigorously opposed the Pro-

Protestants in France.

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of his Enemies ; rejected the great
and advantageous Offers that were made
to them ; kept Towns, yea whole Provin-
ces for him ; took his Servants and Of-
ficers into their Bosoms, when they
could not find Safety elsewhere ; sacri-
ficed their Estates, their Lives, their
Fortunes, and their all to him ; and in
Word, done all with such a Zeal, as
becomes faithful Subjects in so dange-
rous a Juncture. And this now is the
time when the King to requite them for
this, enters on the Design of their
ruin and Destruction and Extirpation. This
confirms the Truth of what we said
at the Beginning, that it puts it out
of all Question ; that the Project of
their Destruction was grounded on
the Services they had rendered the
King.

But is it not astonishing that we must
be taught this important Secret, and all
Europe besides ; for although the Prote-
stants have done nothing in this occa-
sion but their *Duty*, it could never be
imagin'd their *Duty* should be made
their *Crime* ; and their *Ruin* should spring
from whence should come their *Safety*.

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God brought Light out of Darknes, but the Politicks of *France*, on the contrary Darknes out of Light. However, they cannot deny that in this new Ediſt, the King is made to ſay, *he enter'd on the Deſign to deſtroy the Proteſtant Party at every time wherein they ſo ſignaliz'd and diſtinguiſh'd themſelves ſo ſucceſſfully for the Intereſt of the Crown*, which will furniſh thinking Men, as well within as without the Kingdom, with matter enough for Reflection, and will ſhew them what uſe is made of Services, and what Recompence to be expected for them.

But we ſhall ſay no more of the Expreſſions of the new Ediſt, but rather conſider the *matter* of it. Was ever worſe and harder Uſage than that which we have ſuffered for the Space of about 20 Years, which have been employed in forming the late Tempeſt, which has laſt overwhelmed us. It has been a continual Storm of Decrees, Ediſts, Declarations, Orders, Condemnations of Churches, Demolitions of Temples, civil and criminal Proceſſes, Imprisonments, Banishments, *Amandes Honourables* pecuniary Mulcts, Privation of Offices and Em-

boys, depriving Parents of their Children, and all those other Persecutions which we have already briefly summed up. We were told on one hand, that the King would continue to us the Edict of *Nantes*, and he also delivered himself on several Occasions to that Effect; and on the other hand, we were made to suffer after innumerable manners in our Estates, in our Honours, in our Reputations, in our Persons, in our Families, in our Religion, in our Consciences, and all by unjust and indirect ways; by unheard of Inventions, by false Witnesses, by Oppressions, by publick Vexations, and sometimes underhand Dealings; and all this under the seal of the King's Authority, and because this was his *good Pleasure*. We know very well the Authority of Kings, and the Respect and Submissions with which we ought to receive their Orders. And therefore have we, during all these insupportable Usages, expressed a Patience, and an Obedience so remarkable, that it has been the Admiration of the Catholics themselves, our Countrymen. But it must be acknowledged

that those who put his Majesty on death
ing thus with us, or have used his Name
and Authority, for this could not possibly
do him a greater Dishonour than they
have hereby done him, for after all, the
Kings who would be esteemed for their
Justice and Equity, hardly govern their
Subjects after this manner. They are
for putting all things into Confusion,
filling all Places with Horror and Des-
pair. They seek not their Satisfaction
in the Tears and Groans of the Innocent.
They take no Pleasure in keeping their
Subjects in a perpetual Agitation, leav-
ing them a Life precarious from Day
to Day. They love not to have their Names
mentioned with Terror, nor do they med-
itate continual Designs of extirpating
those who give them constant and un-
questionable Proofs of their Loyalty.
much less do they invent cruel Projects
which like Mines may destroy unawares
their own natural Subjects, and this
under pretence of Kindness, by their
and equivocal Declarations which call
out then thickest just as the Blow was
ready to be given.

There are three Things remarkable

the Conduct of this whole Affair; The first is, that as long as they were only in the Way, the true Authors of the Persecution did not conceal themselves but always studied to conceal the King as much as they could: 'Tis true, the Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations, and such other things went still under the Name of his Majesty; But *on the Request* of the Agents, and Syndics of the Clergy; and whilst they were busied in these Matters, the King declar'd openly his Intention of maintaining the Edict it self, and that was only the Abuses and Contraventions of it, which he design'd to correct. The second is, that when they came to the last Extremities, and to open force, when they concealed themselves as much as they could, but made the King appear to his full length. There was nothing heard but these kind of Speeches, *The King will have it so, the King has taken the Matter in his own hand; the King carries it further than the Clergy could have wished.* By these Two means, they have had the Advantage to be only charg'd with the lesser and milder Part of the Persecution, and to lay the more violent and odious at the King's Door.

The Third Thing which we are to remark is, that the better to obtain their Ends, they have made it their Business to perswade the King, that this Work would crown him with the highest Glory; which is a most horrid Abuse of his Credulity, and an Abuse so much the greater, by how much they would screen themselves from being thought the Authors of this Council. Hence, if any of them in particular be ask'd at this Day *what they think of it*, there are few of them but will readily condemn it.

Now what falser Idea of Glory could they give, than making consist in surprising a poor People defenceless and helpless, dispers'd over all his Kingdom, and living securely under his Wings, and under the Protection of the Remains of the Edict of *Nantes*? And who could ever imagine, there were any Intentions of depriving them, of the established Liberty of their Consciences, of surprising and overwhelming them in an instant with a numerous Army, to whose Discretion they are delivered up; and who tell them roundly they must either by fair means or by foul, become Roman Catholics.

Catholicks, for that such is the King's Will and Pleasure? What falser Notion of Glory could they ever offer him, than the putting him thus in the place of God, to say even above God, in making the Faith and Religion of his Subjects, depend on his sole Authority, and that henceforward it must be said in his Kingdom, *I believe not because I am perswaded, but I believe, because the King will have me, and God say what he will*, which to speak properly is, that I believe nothing, and that I'll be a *Turk*, a *Jew*, an *Atheist*, or whatever the King pleases? What falser Idea of Glory than to force from Men's Mouthes by Violence, and a long Series of Torments, a Confession, which the Heart abhors, and for which they afterward sigh Night and Day, crying continually to God for Mercy! What Glory is there in inventing new Ways of Persecution, unknown to former Ages; Persecutions which indeed do not bring Death along with them, but keep Men alive to suffer, that their Patience and Constancy may be overcome by Cruelties, which are above human Strength to undergo! What Glory is there in not
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contenting himself to force those who remain in his Kingdom; but to prohibit also their leaving it, and so keep them under a double Servitude both of Soul and Body! What Glory is there in filling his Prisons full of Innocent Persons who are charg'd with no other Crime than the serving God according to the best of their Knowledge; and for that to be exposed either to the Rage of the Dragoons, or be condemned to the Gallies, and suffer Execution on Body and Goods?

What falser Idea of Glory for the King than to make it consist in the Abuse of his Power, and to violate without remorse much as a Shadow of Reason, his own Word and Royal Faith, which he had solemnly given, and so often reiterated and this only, because he can do it with Impunity, and has to deal with a Flock of Innocent Sheep that are under his Power and cannot escape him; And yet to do this which the Clergy of *France*, by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Valence*, calls Greatness and a Glory that raises *Louis XIV.* above all other Kings, above all his Predecessors, and above Time it self, and

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consecrates him for Eternity? 'Tis what Monsieur *Varillas* calls *Labours greater and more incredible without comparison than those of Hercules*, 'tis what Mr. *Maimbourg* calls an Heroick Action. The Heroical Action, (says he) that the King has just now done, in forbidding by his new Edict of October the publick Exercise of the false Religion of the Calvinists, and ordering that all their Churches be forthwith demolished. O wretched unworthy Flatterers! Must People suffer themselves to be blinded by theumes of your Incense.

We should be very loth to exaggerate any thing, which may violate the Respect due to so great a Prince; but we do not think it a failure in our Duty; fairly to represent how far these treacherous Counsellors and odious Parasites, have really injured his Honour, by the Flood Misfortunes which they have plunged us into, and how criminal they have thereby made themselves towards his Majesty.

* They have committed
so less Misdemeanours against their Country of which they are Members, and for which

* The second Reflection.

a Man would think they should have at least some Consideration. Not to speak here of the great Number of Persons of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities, which they have cut off from it, by their fierce Tempers; although perhaps this loss be not so inconsiderable as they are willing to have it thought, it is certain, that *France* is a very populous Country, but when these feverish Fits shall be over, and they shall in cold Blood come to consider what they have done, they will find with Regret, that these Diminutions are no matter of Triumph; for 'tis not possible that so many substantial People, so many intricate Families, who have made themselves considerable in Arts and Sciences, civil and military, can leave a Kingdom without one Day being miss'd! At present whilst they rejoyce in their Spoils, possess themselves of their Houses and Estates, this loss is not so much felt; 'tis recompensed in some measure they think, by the Booty and by the Ease of maintaining the Souldiers by this Plunder, but this will not always hold. Neither shall we here insist on that almost general Interruption of Traffick, which these mo-

Unchristian Persecutors have caused in the principal Towns of the Kingdom, altho' there be no little Misfortune. The *Protestants* carried on a good part of the Trade, as well within the Kingdom as without; and were therein so mixt with the Roman Catholics, that their Affairs were in a manner inseparably linked together, they dealt as it were in common, when these Oppressions came upon them. And what Confusions have they not produced? How many industrious Measures have they broken? How many honest Designs have they not disappointed? How many Manufactures have been ruin'd? How many Bankrupts have they made? And how many Families reduced to Beggary? But this is what the Oppressors little trouble themselves about, they have their bread gain'd to their Mouths, they live in Wantonness and Ease: And whilst others starve for Hunger, their Revenues are ascertained to them. But this hinders not, but that the Body of the Estate must still suffer, both in its *Honour* and *Interest*. And we may truly say, that Four Civil Wars could not have produced so much Mis-

Mischief, as time will shew to spring from this one Persecution alone.

But we will leave the Consequence of this Affair to time, and only say, that the *Edict of Nantes* being a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and an Agreement between Two Parties by a reciprocal Acceptation, under the peaceable Reign of *Henry the Great* by the publick Faith, and by mutual Oath; this must certainly be highly disadvantageous to the Interest of the State, and a very bad Precedent that after having made a Thousand Infractions of it, it should at length be revok'd, cancell'd, and annull'd at the Instigation of a Cabal, who abuse their Credit, and hereby make themselves fit for enterprising, and executing any thing. After this Violation, what can henceforward be thought firm and inviolable in *France*. I speak not only of particular Mens Affairs, or of private Families, but of general Establishments, of Royal Companies, of Courts of Justice, of fundamental Laws and Constitutions, and in one Word, of whatever may relate to the Order, either of judicial Proceedings, or of the Affairs of State, or may serve to

Basis and Foundation of Society; even the inalienable Rights of the Crown, and the Form of Government it self, not excepted: Which are all hereby manifestly shaken.

There are in the Kingdom of *France* great many thinking Men to whom it will not be hard to discern this. There, I say, a great Number of worthy persons in it, who understand how to think as they ought of Matters, and whose eyes are opened. I mean not your Poets, or such sort of fulsome Flatterers, who for the sake of a few Madrigals, or Panegyrick perhaps upon the King, run away with considerable Preferments, and benefices: Nor your Authors who are prepared to write on any side, be it right or wrong, without any Consideration for the true Merit of the Cause; and who are elevated with their Knowledge, if they indeed knew every thing, when they know not how little and contemptible they really are. For I am speaking of those wise, solid, and penetrating Spirits, who look a great way into the Consequences of things, and are able to make right Judgment upon them.

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Shall we think that these Men see not what is but too visible, namely, that the State is pierced through and through, by the same Thrust given the *Protestants*, and that such an open Revocation of the *Edict*, with so high an hand, leaves nothing firm and sacred.

It is to no purpose to alledge Distinctions in the matter, or say, that the pretended reformed Religion was odious to the State, and that therefore this Attack was with the more Freedom made, for not to mention that the Example is much the more dangerous, as it was the more cunningly pitched on, in an Affair wherein the People are likely to take little or no Concern: Without adding that their having rendred the reformed Religion odious to the People, was for certain a premeditated Preparation of what they intended to execute afterwards, and also that far from having a general Aversion against our Religion, the *Catholicks* both the common People and the Nobility had no manner of Animosity against us, (except only a Faction of the Bigots, and those that are called the *Propagators of the Faith*) but on the

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contrary pitied us, and condoled our Misfortunes.

Not to touch further on this, who shows not what an easy matter it is to lay down any Cause, or render it odious, or at least indifferent, in the Minds of the People, there are never wanting Reasons and Pretences, in matters of this Nature, one Party is set up against another: and that is call'd the *State*, right or wrong, which is the prevailing one: like as in Religion, not the best and holiest, *but the powerfullest and boldest Part is term'd the Church*. We must not then judge of these things from the *Matter*, but from the *Form*. Now if there ever was since the World stood, any thing more solid or inviolable, it was surely this Edict of *Nantes* to revoke and cancel it, is then to set ones self above all Obligations to God as well as to Men; 'tis to declare openly, that there are no longer any Ties or Promises obligatory in the World, but that all things are at pleasure revokable, this is no more than the Wise will easily comprehend: and I doubt not but they have comprehended it already.

But it will be proper here to prevent

another Objection, which is, that as the Edict, (take it in what Sense we will) become only a Law by the Authority of *Henry the Great*, so it may likewise be revok'd and annull'd by that of *Lewis the XIV* his Grand-son, and Successor. For there is no more Difficulty in one, than in the other ; for 'tis easy for Kings to determine by the same means as they began, since if *Henry the Great* had Power to change the Form of governing the State, by introducing into it a new Law, why has not *Lewis the XIV.* the same Power then to alter this Form, and by Consequence annul whatsoever his Grandfather has done? But this Objection is but a meer Fallacy, and will be soon answered by considering that it's built upon a false Principle, and thence deduces a falser Conclusion. For as to the Principle upon which this is founded, we say it was not the single Authority of *Henry the Great* which established the Edict. The Edict was a Decree of his Justice after all Parties were heard, and a concordate that pass'd between the Catholicks and the Reformed, authoriz'd by the publick Faith of the whole Estate, confirmed

with

with the Sanction of an Oath, and ratified by the Execution of it; now this is that that renders the Edict immutable, and sets it above the Reach of any of the Successors of this *Henry the IV.* They can be only in this Case the Depositories and the Executors, not the Masters of it, and can have no Right to make it depend on their absolute Will and Pleasure. *Henry the Great* never employed the Force of Arms to make the Catholicks consent to it; and though since his Death under the Minority of *Lewis the XIII.* There have been several Assemblies of the State of the Realm, the Edict has still remained in its full Force and Vigour, it was therefore, as we have already said, a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, which the King by his own proper Authority could have no Ground of Right to touch. But then even supposing this were a Work grounded on the bare Authority of *Henry*, which in Fact is false; it does not therefore follow that his present Majesty can lawfully revoke it. And the Reason hereof is evident, because there are many things which depend on the good pleasure of Kings to *do*, but which when

done, do not depend on the same good Pleasure to *undo* ; and of this Nature is the said Edict. It is a Royal Promise which *Henry the Great* made to the Reformed of his Kingdom, as well for himself as his Successors for ever; and consequently this is a perpetual Obligation or hereditary Debt, charged on himself and his Posterity. Moreover, it is not true that *Henry the Great* did change any thing in the Government of the State, at least as to Essentials, when he gave Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects; for this Liberty is a Matter of a more Antient and more inviolable Right than all Edicts, seeing that it is a Right of Nature. He permitted a publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion ; but this Exercise was establish'd in the Kingdom before his Edict, and if he has enlarg'd the Privileges of the Reformed, as (without doubt he has) he did not do it without the Consent and Approbation of the State, and so herein violated nothing of his lawful Engagements. But now 'tis not the same with *Lewis XIV.* who of his own pure Authority, makes a real and fundamental Change against the Concurrence of

Part of his People, and without the consulting of the *other*; hereby violating his own most sacred Engagements, those of his Kingdom, and even the Laws of Nature too, which were things absolutely out of his Power to do.

In short, if we consider the means that have been used to arrive at the Revocation in Question, it will be impossible for a Man not to acknowledge how the State is sensibly hurt thereby. For as if it were not enough to suppress the Religious Assemblies, and to null the Privileges and civil Rights of the Protestants, by unjust Decrees, without so much as any Formality or Hearing; There are also sent among them, *Souldiers to dispute the Points of Religion with them*; and oblige them to turn. They are sackt like People taken by Assault, they are forc'd in their Consciences, and Hell itself, with all that is merciless and cruel is set loose upon them for this End. And this is to speak modestly, *The Effect of a Military and Arbitrary Government, which is regulated neither by Justice, Reason, nor Humanity.* Can it be thought, that *France*, will find its Account in this Matter! Or that wise Men will think

think this an equitable Way of governing. However, this is a first Essay that is none of the least; they that made it, shew how skilful they are, and who knows if they will be content to rest here? There needs only another Design, another Passion to satisfy, another Revenge to execute; and then woe be to those who shall oppose it for the Dragoons will not have forgot their Trade.

To these Two Reflections, which Respect the French King and the States of his Realm, we may add a Third which will regard the Interests of all the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates of Europe, as well of the one as of the other Religion. We shall not be much mistaken if we say, that they have a common and general Concern herein; in as much as these most skilfull Artists in Mischief do, as much as ever they can to trouble the good Understanding that is between them and their Subjects. We are however ever perswaded, that their Wise and just Government will, in this Respect, put them out of all fear: But this hinders not Examples of this Nature from being al-
ways

ways of bad Consequence, as naturally
tending to beget in the Minds of the
vulgar, (who commonly judge of things
without examining into particulars) Sus-
picions and Distrusts of their Sovereigns,
as if they dreamed of nothing but de-
mouring their Subjects, and delivering
them up to the Discretion (or rather Fu-
ry) of their Soldiers. For the greater
Moderation and Justice Princes may
have, the less are they obliged to, such
as would inspire their People with mar-
tal for so dangerous Sentiments; which
are apt to produce the worst Effects.

Besides, is it not certain, that the Prin-
ces and States of *Europe* cannot without
great deal of Displeasure see *France*,
which makes so considerable a Figure in
the World, and has so powerful an In-
fluence, should now put her self into
such a Condition, as that no just Mea-
sures can be taken with her? For after
so scandalous and publick a Violation
of the Word of Three successive Kings,
and of the publick Faith, what credit
can be ever given for the future,
to her Promises or Treaties? Nor will
it be sufficient here to say, that the pub-
lick

lick Treaties will have Force, so long as
least as the Interest of *France* will require
for that will hereafter depend on the pri-
vate Interest, or perhaps Capriciousness
of a sort of heady strong People, that
are for allowing nothing, either to the
Laws of Prudence or of Equity, but
will manage all by main force. And
they have had the Power to do within
the Kingdom what they have lately put
in Execution, what may we not expect
that they will do as to Affairs abroad.
If they have not spar'd their own Coun-
trymen, with whom they had daily
Commerce, and who were greatly ser-
viceable to them, can it be supposed
they will spare such as are altogether
Strangers? Will they have more Respec-
t to you to Truces, or Agreements
but of Yesterday, than to an Edict of
an Hundred Years continuance, and
that too the most august and solemn
that ever was; which yet they made no
other use of, than to amuse an innocent
People, and to involve them the more se-
curely in utter Desolation? It looks tru-
ly as if they had resolved to bring Ma-
sters to this pass on purpose, that there
being

being no more Faith or Dependency to
e had on the Promises of *France*, all
er Neighbours should thereby conti-
ually be upon their Guard against her;
and the more when she promises than
when she threatens; and in Peace than
in War, so that there is no more Hopes
of being at quiet with Respect to her,
but what either the Security of Hostages,
or the Diminution of her Forces must
give.

This being so in Respect of all Prin-
ces and States in general, as well Ca-
tholick as Protestant, what may then
the Protestant Princes and States in par-
ticular think, but that it is really the
design of *France* to ruin them all, and
to make no stop till she has utterly de-
stroyed them? Every body knows, that
the Protestant Princes and Powers un-
derstand their Interests well enough, to
be able to discern them through the
clouds, and Mists, wherewith these would
cover them, and 'tis not doubted but
they do indeed see, that this is a Be-
ginning, or an Essay, which *France* ex-
pects shortly to give the last and finishing
stroke to.

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That Court has suffered it self to be possessed with a most gross Bigotry, and with a false Zeal of Catholicism; it is become the *Genius* that pleases; each one is become a Converter even to Fire and Sword; and there are not a few of the Courtiers perswaded, that this shall be alone able to weigh down the Scale in their Favour, vain Glory is no small Ingredient in this Design; Policy adds all its Prospects and Mysteries too, and these Prospects have no Bounds, these Mysteries want not their invisible Springs and surprizing Ways, which they will joyn when they please, to the Power of Arms. They think the Season is ripe, and 'tis but daring to go on. The Easiness they found in making Conquests and Conversions swells their Courage, and they talk already of nothing but a further Progress in so fair a Way. 'Tis however to be hoped that Protestant Princes, and States, will from hence draw their just Conclusions.

As to the Catholick Princes and States they have too sagacious Judgments not to see how much they share also in this Affair. It will be made use of to break

the good understanding which is betwixt them and the Protestant Powers, by amusing *those* with the fair Pretext of the Catholick Religion, and cunningly inspiring these with Suspensions and Jealousies of a general Design against them, to swallow 'em. If the Catholick Princes and States remove not these Suspensions, and if they suffer *France* still to aggrandize her self, by her pretended Zeal for the Catholicks Faith, which at the bottom is but a false Mask, one may without the Spirit of Prophecy aforehand assure them that they are undone.

It will signify but little to say, *we are as good Catholicks as your selves*, this will give no Security from his Army; whosoever will not submit to his Yoke shall be counted Heretick, nay worse than an Heretick; for now the greatest Heresy is not to submit: *Spain, Germany, and Italy* it self, already know this in some measure.

But will it not be thought a Paradox, to all that we have said we yet farther add, that even the *Pope* himself, * and the *whole Body* of the *Roman Church*, must and themselves sensibly interress'd and

* *The fourth Reflection.*

injur'd in this Persecution. And yet we will say nothing herein, but what is evident Truth, and which the wisest of the Roman Catholicks, must needs agree to. For is not this the worst Character that can be given of the Roman Clergy, to represent them as an Order of Men who not only can't endure any thing that is not subject to them, but in a Religious, but also in a Civil Society, and as Men that are not content to anathematize all that displease them, but will design nothing so much as to exterminate 'em, not only to exterminate them, but also forcibly to violate their Consciences, and cram their own Opinions down their Throats, and propagate their Way of Worship by the irresistible and never failing Argument of Fire and Fagot; lastly, as an Order of Men who observe neither Faith, nor Justice; who promise only that they may deceive, who for a while curb their Fury only, that afterwards they may insult the more; that in Peace as well as in War, contrive only to overturn and destroy; who make alliances only to surprize, and then fighting themselves more powerful, deny the

they have so surpris'd, even the Liberty of escaping. These are the exact Features and Colours by which the *Roman* Clergy may be easily known, should we judge of them by the Persecution in *France*; the like whereof was never seen to this Day.

The *Egyptians* and *Assyrians* once persecuted the *Israelites*, but forc'd them not to embrace the Worship of their Idols; they contented themselves with making them Slaves, without doing Violence to their Consciences. The *Heathens* and the *Jews* persecuted the primitive Christians, forc'd their Consciences indeed, but they had never granted them an Edict, nor by persecuting them violated the publick Faith, nor hindred them to make their Escape by Flight. The *Arrians* cruelly persecuted the Orthodox, but besides that they went not so far, as to make the common sort of People sign formal Abjurations; there was no Edict, or Concordat between the Two Communions. *Innocent* the III. by his Croisades persecuted the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, but neither had these People any Edict. *Emmanuel* King of *Portugal* furiously persecuted

cuted the *Jews*, but he gave them leave to depart out of his Kingdom, and they too had no Edict. It was the same with those Remains of the *Mours*, who had canton'd themselves in some parts of the Kingdom of *Granada*; they were defeated in a War, and commanded to retire into the Country from whence their Ancestors came.

In the last Century the Duke D'Alba exercised dreadful Cruelties, upon the *Protestants* of the Seventeen Provinces; but he did not hinder them from flying nor violated any Edict; and when the worst came to the worst, Death was their Release. The *Inquisition* is to this Day in *Spain* and *Italy*; but they are Countries in which no Religion, beside the *Roman*, was ever tolerated by Edict, and if the *Inquisitors* may be accused of Violence and Cruelty, they cannot however be convicted of *Perfidiousness*.

But in this last Persecution of *France* there are *Five* things that strike the Mind with horror; 1. They make the *Consciences* and Religion of Men to depend sovereignly upon the Will of a mortal King, 2. They violate a Faith solemnly

sworn

sworn to, 3. They force Men to be Hypocrites and oblige them to be wicked, by seeming to embrace a Religion they abhor, 4. They prohibit and prevent all Flight, or retiring out of the Kingdom, They do not inflict Death, but preserve Life, for no other purpose than to oppress it with longer and more dreadful Torments. If after this the Court of Rome with its Clergy, dispers'd over all Europe, will not disclaim so odious and criminal a Conduct, nay, if they condemn it not, it will be an indelible Stain to the Honour of their Religion. For not only *Protestants*, who are of a different Communion, but also an infinite Number of their own Members, will be mightily scandalized thereat: Nay, even *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Pagans* will rise up in Judgment against them. They cannot be ignorant what Censures have been made, on what pass'd in the Council of *Constance*, concerning *John Huss*, and *Jerom of Prague*, whom they put to Death, notwithstanding the safe Conduct of the Emperor *Sigismund*. But there is something greater here; There only Two Men were condemn'd, here more than *Fifteen Hundred*

Thousand, those they put to Death, and if they had done the same to these, they would have embraced their Death with Joy and Comfort. The Council thought its Authority in this greater than the Emperors, but here can be produced none greater than that which establish'd our Edict.

** Refutation
of the false
Shifts and Pre-
tences of the Per-
secutors.*

** We are not insensible of the different Method the Persecutors take to shelter themselves, from publick censure, some take a speedy course, that is downright to deny the Fact, and to perswade the World That Force and Violence had no share in the Conversions; but that they were soft, calm and voluntary: and that if there were some Dragoons at any time concern'd therein, 'twas only because the Reformed themselves desir'd 'em, that so they might have an handsom Pretence of changing their Religion. Was there ever so much Impudence seen? What will they not deny, who can thus flatly deny what was done in the Face of the Sun, and what a whole Kingdom from one End of it, to the other have seen and still see to this Day? For now in the*

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Beginning of the Year 1686, While I am composing this sad Narrative, they continue to exercise the very same Rage, that concluded the preceding Year ; the same Dragoons both in Cities and Countries execute the same Fury against some miserable Remains of Protestants, who will not fall down and worship the Golden Image,

They are used like Rebels in their Persons, in their Estates, in their Wives, and in their Children ; and if there be any Difference, 'tis in this, that their Sufferings are still encreas'd, yet if we'll believe the Clergy haranguing the King by the Mouth of the Bishop of *Valence* their Speaker, it is a Miracle of his Majesties Reign, that such infinite Numbers should be by him converted without using any Constraint at all, and that from all Parts, there should be such a Concourse of People joyfully flocking to re-unite themselves to the Catholick Church, *All this, saith he, is done without Violence, without Arms, and not so much by the Force of your Edicts, as by the Exemplariness of your Piety.* And if we will believe moreover the greatest Part of the
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Abjurations which these poor oppressed People, are forced to make with a Dagger at their Breast; they speak indeed the same Sense, that is, *that they have done this of their own proper Motion without being constrained in any wise thereto.*

If we will believe *Monsieur Maimbourg* in his Epistle Dedicatory to the King, which he has prefixed, before his History of Pope Gregory lately publish'd, there has been neither Arms nor Violence used for those Conversions, *Ton* are to believe, says he, that after having already vanquished all the Enemies of France by the invincible Power of your Arms, you shall alone eternally have the Glory and Happiness of having rooted out of the most Christian Kingdom, that Enemy of God, Heresy (as he calls it) without using against it, to compel the Protestants to return into the Bosom of the Church, other Arms, or Forces, than those of your most charitable Zeal for their Conversion, and the manifest Justice of your Decrees, and Edicts, which have had all the Success as could be wish'd for or expected. And in his third Book, after having said, that *Ethelred King of England* did not compel by any kind of Violence

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his Subjects to embrace the Christian Religion, having learned of his Divines that the Service rendered to Jesus Christ ought to be voluntary, but only kept his Favours for such as should turn Christians, without doing Injustice to others ; after this, he adds these Words : *This is the Method Lewis the Great follows exactly at this time in Order to convert the pretended Reformed, who have no Cause of Complaint. For no Violence is offer'd to any one, and if the King be graciously pleas'd to bestow upon the new Converts, such Favours and Kindnesses are not bestowed upon others, and which he is not obliged to confer upon those who are obstinate in their Heresy ; yet no Injustice is hereby done, since nothing of any Privilege is taken from them, but what they have usurped contrary to the Intent of the Edicts ; and that he has a Right to punish them, when they act contrary to his Ordinances. It is very likely that this Method so soft, so prudent, so efficacious will at last have the same Effect in France under Lewis the Great, to reconcile the Calvinists to the Church as it had under King Ethelred in England for the Conversion of his Subjects ; who powerfully drawn by such means came daily crowding to*

160 *The Complaints of the*

to demand the holy Baptism, as we see our Protestants begin now to come in Flocks to Mass.

And 'tis upon the same Principles, that Monsieur *Varillas* in his Dedication to the King of the Book just published by him, under the Title of the *History of the Revolutions which have happen'd in Europe in Matters of Religion*, does not scruple to speak in this manner; Your Majesty in Order to ruin Calvinism, has only oblig'd the French that profess'd it, to the exact Obedience of the *Edict of Nantes*; by punishing the Contraventions with the Penalties contained therein; that alone was sufficient to reduce the Hereticks to so small a Number, that that *Edict* being now useless, there was reason to revoke it.

Thus is the Credulity of the Public wretchedly impos'd on, the Seeds of Imposture are sown at Random, which are left to grow up, and maturate with time. Posterity who shall see these Pieces of pretended Histories, will be apt to believe 'em true. And making their Judgment from this surprizing Account of the Matter, they will certainly say Behold here what has been said to the

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King himself, who must not have open Falshoods presented to him ; here also are the proper Acts and Deeds of those very Persons that were converted. Why shall not then Posterity believe it ; seeing that even at present there are some shameless enough, (or to speak better, well enough Paid) to publish it in foreign Countries ; and that there are found likewise some credulous enough to believe it.

And why should they not believe it, seeing it is asserted by a Bishop ; and that in the Name too of the Body of the Clergy, and by Two grave Authors besides ? Must there be so much said to establish a *probable* Opinion ? Posterity will not be bound to know who this Bishop of *Valence* was, nor what a sort of Life he always led ; nor will they be under a Necessity of knowing how many Fables Monsieur *Maimbourg* has been more than once convicted of ; which he had embellish'd his Histories with, nor that he was a Person determinately resolved, though detected, never to acknowledge himself in an Error, neither will they be obliged to know, that

that Monsieur *Varillas* not finding his Account in telling the Truth, has in his old Days thought fit at last to consecrate his Pen to this Service, induc'd to it by the Favors of the Archbishop of Paris as may be gathered from the Preface of this his Late Treatise.

But to come to the Point, what likelihood is there that so great and considerable a Number of Persons, should without any thing constraining them to it chuse to fly out of *France*, and leave behind them their Houses, their Lands or Inheritance, their Effects, and several of them too their Wives and Children only for to rove about the World, and lead a miserable Life out of a meer Humour. Is there any likelihood that Persons of Quality of both Sexes, who enjoyed some Twelve, Fifteen, Twenty, or Thirty Thousand Livres *per Annum*, should abandon their Estates, and that not only for themselves but for their Successors too : Expose themselves to numberless Perils, and to the Inconveniences of long Journies, and reduce themselves in a manner to Beggary which is a Condition the most unsu-

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portable in the World to Persons of Quality, and all this without any Reason, purely out of a Frolick, and for the sake of a Jest, without any Occasion? What likelihood that about an Hundred and Fifty Thousand Persons, who have already escap'd ; some of them into Switzerland, others into Germany, some into England, others into Holland, some into Sweedland, and others into Denmark, and some even into America, without having ever seen or known one another, should yet all agree to tell the same Lie, and to say with one Voice, *that the Protestants are cruelly persecuted in France, and that by unheard of Severities they are forced to change their Religion* ; although there is no such matter, is it likely in the last Place, that the Embassadors and Envoys of foreign Princes and Powers, should all of them lie in concert to their Masters ; telling them such things which had no Foundation of Truth ?

But again, if in France the Protestants thus voluntarily, and without constraint, change their Religion, and that the Dragoons are call'd in only as Friends, whence comes it that there is so strict

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and universal a Guard on the Frontiers, to hinder their withdrawing? How is it that the Prisons are cram'd with those who endeavouring to make their Escape, were stop'd by the Way? Whence is it that those who have chang'd their Religion, are watch'd with so great care, to hinder their Flight even to the obliging them to deposit good Sums of Money, to secure them from the Suspicion of it? What an epidemical Distemper is there raging among his Majesty's Subjects, that should make them Fly thus without Reason? Or without Grounds and is not this a pleasant shift to say that the Protestants have themselves called in the Dragoons to have a better pretence to change their Religion? 'Tis about Ten Years or more, since there was a Bank set up for Souls: Mr. Pelisson has been for a long time at *Paris*, the great Dealer in this infamous Trade of purchasing Converts. These Conversions have of late been the only way of getting Applause, and into Preferments at Court, and in a Word, a sure and effectual means of raising ones Fortune: And yet they would fain make People think

us such Fools, as that instead of being converted by these easie and advantageous Methods, we should rather chuse the help of Dragoons, that is, to have the Pleasure of being pillag'd at the best; at least, let any one tell us, why, since these Conversions are all pretended to be *Voluntary* upon the Peoples not being willing to go Mass, they should have sent the Dragoons to visit them a Second Time, and use them with the same Severity as before.

This is indeed so gross and palpable a lye, that others who are more Ingenuous have undertaken to defend these Violences, as if they were naturally from the genuine Spirit of the Catholick Church; and for this Purpose, they have continually in their Mouth that Passage of the Gospel, *Compelle intrare*, compel them to come in; the Letter of St. *Augustin* to *Vincentius* and the Persecution by the *Orthodox* of *Africk* against the *Donatists*.

Were this a Place to dispute against those furious Theologists, 'twould not be hard to shew the Vanity of those Allegations, the Apostles knew at least as well as they, the Sense and Intent of their Master; neither wanted they Zeal for

the Promotion of his Gospel. Did they therefore ever make use of Arms to augment the Number of the Faithful, or did their Master for that end give them any Temporal or Military Power? Who knows not but in the Stile of Scripture the Words *Compellere* and *Cogere* signifie a sort of Violence of Exhortation and Persuasion as in the XIX of *Genesis*, where it is said that *Lot compelled* the Angels to come into his House, *Compullit illos oppido* pressed upon, V. 2. and 1 *Sam.* XXVIII. 23. that *Saul's* Servants *compelled* him to eat, *Coegerunt eum*. And *Luke* XXIV. 29. that the Two Disciples going to *Emmaus*; *compelled* Jesus or constrained him (*Coegerunt illum*) to remain with them; and *Acts* XV. 15. that *Lydia* *compelled* (*constrained*) *St. Paul* and his Company (*Coegit nos*) to come into her House. As for *St. Austin's* Letter, it must be confess'd that nothing can better shew us the Character of this sort of Persons, than this Allegation of theirs. They cannot be Ignorant how that the general Sentiment of the Father is, that Conscience is never to be forced, nor Religion established by Violence. They know that this is the general Voice of

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the Primitive Church, insomuch that St. Martin cut off from his Communion the Bishops that persecuted the Priscilianists. And yet these Men would fain force upon us for a Rule of Christian Practice, a Letter of one who had been exasperated, and who had suffer'd himself to be misled by some other turbulent Bishops; whose Doctrine and Reputation by this one single Act, have been stain'd with an irreparable Blemish. They are not a whit more successful in what they alledge, concerning the Persecution of the Donatists by the Orthodox. For to omit that the Orthodox never forced the Donatists, either to embrace Doctrines, or worship what they had an Abhorrence for, or to abjure those they profess'd, they only constrained them to submit outwardly to a personal Judgment, given by lawful Judges on a Matter of Fact; which was whether *Cecilian* was a Prevaricator, or not. To omit all this, I say, it is certain that that Persecution was visibly follow'd with Exemplary Chastisements from the divine Justice upon the Persecutors; who were soon after by the *Arrians* treated with much more Cruelty, than the Donatists.

had been by them, thus God permitted that as they had abus'd the Weakness of *Honorius*, to make him put in Execution what *Constantine the Great* would never consent to, so the Arrian Bishops should in like manner abuse the Power of the Kings of the *Vendals*, to oppress the flourishing Churches of *Affrica*. But what need of all this dispute, since all they advance is altogether besides the Question? Let them but shew us one only Passage or Example, from whence it can be infer'd that publick Faith given to a Society by Solemn Edicts and Treaties (such as were in the Edict of *Nantes*) might be violated had there ever been an Agreement betwixt the *Jews* and the *Heathens*, with the Apostles, and this solemnly consented to and ratified, when our blessed Saviour said, *Compelle intrare* Luke XIV. v. 23. compel them to come in; has St. *Austin* ever said, that we ought to deal perfidiously with those whom we esteem Hereticks, when we have promis'd to live with them like Brethren, and fellow Citizens? Had the Donatists any Edict to shelter them from the insults of the *Orthodox*? Should we yield to this detestable

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Divinity, what would become of all us? For in short the *Papists* are as much Hereticks to the *Protestants* as the *Protestants* are to the *Papists*; yet in most Parts of *Europe*, they live together in Peace, on the Faith of Alliances, Treaties and Promises, and trading together, are at full Liberty to follow the Dictates of their own Consciences. But these publick Priests as much as in them lies would quickly bring all things into Confusion, and a *State of War*. They set the *Catholicks* against the *Protestants*, teaching them, that their Religion obliges them to betray and surprise the *Protestants*, when ever they can do it safely, and to treat them with Fire and Faggot, if they will not change their Religion. They set the *Protestants* against the *Catholicks*; for what Peace and Society can there be with People, who not only make no Conscience to break their Faith, but on the contrary think themselves obliged in Conscience to break it, as often as they find Occasion, such are the natural Consequences of the pernicious Doctrine of these Converters, with their *compelle intrare* and the Letter of St. *Austin*.

The worst on it is, these are not only
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the Discourses, or Writings, of some giddy brained Authors, whose Sphere of Activity commonly extends no further than their Study : They are real Deeds and notorious Facts, 'tis a great King whom they have abused ; powerful Ministers into whose Minds they have instill'd those Maxims, and who put them in practice Armies of *Dragoons*, who have depopulated a whole Kingdom, and plunder'd above Five Hundred Thousand Families Do we live in an Age wherein Religion is made to consist in having no Fear of God, or must we imagine that the fear of God, consists in that furious Zeal, which inspires such sort of Violences ? Can any think these Excesses are pleasing to Christ whom we both profess to own as the Author of our Faith, and that he can ever be willing to have his Religion propagated, by such treacherous and wicked Devices He has said indeed, *That he will not suffer the Gates of Hell to prevail against his Church* but he has no where said, he will open Hell Gates for the propagating of it. Now if ever any thing in the World may be said to carry the Air of the Gates of Hell, certainly it must be this Persecution in France.

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Whatever Antipathy there may be between the See of *Rome*, and us, we cannot believe the present Pope *Innocent XII.* to have had any hand therein, or that the Storm has fallen on us from that Quarter. We know him to be a mild Prince, and his Temper disposed to more moderate Councils, than those of his Predecessors. Moreover, we know the Clergy of *France* do not always consult him in what they set about, and what has been done by them against *Rome*, and the little deference paid to its Authority has been frequently made an Argument to induce us to submit our selves to the King's Will in these other matters. So that we hope the Pope himself considering us still as Men, and as Christians, will pity us, and blame the Methods that have been used against us, had he no other Reason than the mere interest of his own Religion.

However, 'tis certain the Protestants of *France* are the fittest objects of public Compassion, the World ever knew. Some of them Sigh and Lament under an hard and barbarous Slavery, which they would willingly exchange for Irons in

in *Algiers* or *Turky*, for there they would not be forced to turn *Mahometans*, and might still entertain some hopes of Liberty by the way of Ransom. Other of them are wandering about in foreign Countries, stript of their Estates, separated (in all probability for ever) from their Parents, Relations, and Friends whom they have left in the most doleful Condition imaginable, Husbands have left their Wives, and Wives their Husbands, Fathers their Children and Children their Fathers. We have seen as in a moment our Fortunes or Establishments, our Inheritances, our Houses, our Commerce, our hopes drawn away. And of all the good Things of this earthly State, we have scarce anything left us, but our miserable Lives and they too supported by the Charity of our Christian Brethren.

Yet amongst all these Afflictions we have this Comfort still, that we truly suffer for a good Conscience; and for the Cause of God, and can defy even the malice of our Persecutors, to charge us with any the least Misdemeanor that could have merited this barbarous usage

we have served our King and Country with the utmost Zeal and Fidelity; we have constantly submitted our selves to the Laws, and to the Magistrates; we have been always ready to bear our Part of the publick Burthens; and as for our Country-men, they have no reason to complain of us. We have for Twenty Years together suffered with an Exemplary Patience the most furious and dreadful Storms, and when in the *Vivarois* and *Cevennes*, some thought themselves bound in Conscience to Preach on the ruins of their Churches unjustly, and illegally demolisht; their small Number, which were but a handful only served to stir up more the Obedience and Regeneration of the whole Body. And in these last Storms we have been like Sheep innocent, and without Defence. We comfort our selves then in the Justice of our Cause, and in our peaceable Deportment under it.

But we comfort our selves likewise in the *Christian* Compassion shewed us by Foreign Princes and States, who have opened their Arms and received us into their Dominions, succour'd, relieved, and com-

comforted us ; and the People who live under their Government, have seconded these their Kind Offices. And we have found in all of them, not only new *Masters* and new *Friends*, but the real Tenderness of *Fathers* and *Brethren*. And as these Bowels of Commiseration have been as Balm to our Wounds ; so we hope never to lose the Remembrance thereof, and trust, that neither we nor our Children after us, shall ever do anything by God's Grace, to render us unworthy of this their Protection.

The only Affliction for which we cannot be comforted is, to see our Religion oppressed in the Kingdom of *France* ; for many Churches wherein God was daily served according to the Simplicity of the Gospel demolished, so many Flocks dispersed, so many poor Consciences sighing, and groaning under their Bondage ; so many Children deprived of the Education they were to receive from their Parents. But we hope that at length the same God, who heard heretofore the Sighs of his People under the Bondage of *Egypt*, will also hear at this time the Cries of his faithful Servants. We can

not for Fire from Heaven, we only pray,
that God would touch the Hearts of our
Persecutors, that they may repent, and
be saved together with us ; we entreat
such a Deliverance, as he in his Wisdom
shall think fitting. And as our Prayers
are in the Order of his Providence ; we
have Grounds to hope that he will hear
them, and that he will Establish us again
in our first Estate.

But in the mean while, and till it shall
please God in his mercy to bring that
happy Event to pass, least we should be
wanting to the Justice of our Cause, we
desire that this Account which contains
our *just Complaints*, may serve for a *Pro-*
testation before Heaven and Earth, against
all the violences we have suffer'd in the
Kingdom of *France*. Against all the Ar-
rests, Declarations, Edicts, Regulations,
and all other Ordinances of what nature
soever, which our Enemy's have caused
to be Published to the prejudice of the
Edict of *Nantes* ; against all sort of Acts,
signatures, or Verbal Declarations ex-
pressing an Abjuration of our, and the
profession of the *Romish* Religion, which
bear, Torture, and a Superior Power
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have extorted from us, or from our Brethren; against the Plunder that has been already, or shall hereafter be committed of our Goods, Houses, Effects, Debts, Trusts, Rents, Lands, Inheritances, and Revenues, Common or Private, either by way of Confiscation, or by any other way whatsoever as Unjust, Treacherous, and Violent, committed only by a Superior Power, in full Peace, contrary both to Reason and the Laws of Nature, and the Rights of all Society and injurious to all Mankind; But especially we *Protest* against the Edict of the 18th. of Octob. 1685. containing the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, as a manifest Abuse of the King's Justice, Authority, and Royal Power, since the Edict of *Nantes* was in it self inviolable and irrevocable, above the reach of any Human Power, design'd for a standing Agreement and Concordat between the *Roman Catholicks* and us, and a fundamental Law of the Realm, which no Authority on Earth has Power to Infringe, or Annul. We protest likewise against all the Consequences that may follow such a Revocation, against the

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Extinction of the Exercise of our Religion throughout the whole Kingdom of France, against all the Ignominies and Cruelties committed upon dead Bodies, by depriving them of Christian Burial, and exposing them in the Fields to be devoured by ravenous Beasts, or dragging them ignominiously through the Streets upon Hurdles; against the taking away Children by force, and the Orders given to Fathers and Mothers to Cause them to be Baptized and Educated by *Romish* Priests. But above all, we *Protest* against that impious and abominable Position, which is now-a-days made the general Rule in *France*, by which Religion is made to depend on the Pleasure and Despotick Power of a Mortal Prince, and Perseverance in the Faith branded with the Names of Rebellion and Treason, which is to make of a Man a God, and tends to the introducing, and authorizing of Atheism and Idolatry. We *Protest* moreover against all manner of violent and inhumane detaining of our Brethren in *France*, whether in Prisons, Gallies, Monasteries, or any other Confinements, to hinder them from leaving the

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Kingdom, and going to see in Foreign Countries that Liberty of Conscience they cannot enjoy in their own ; which is the utmost pitch of Brutish Cruelty and Hellish Iniquity. Lastly, we *Protest* against whatsoever we may of Right *Protest* against, and declare that such is our meaning, that things not expressed be comprehended under those that are here expressed. We most humbly supplicate all Kings, Princes, Sovereign Lords, States and Nations, and generally all Persons of what Condition soever to be graciously pleased, that these our lawful and indispensable *Protestations*, which in the simplicity and sincerity of our Hearts we are obliged to make, and do make accordingly, may serve before God, and before them, as a standing Testimony for us and our Posterity, for the Preservation of our Rights, and for the Discharge of our Consciences,

FINIS.

To the QUEEN.

M A D A M,

May it please Your Majesty.

IN Gratitude to those Wretches whose Heroick Constancy raised in me that Admiration which was the first Cause of my happy Conversion, I humbly lay at your Majesty's Feet an Account of their sufferings.

Their only Hopes, under God, are in your Majesty, the glorious Defender and Ornament of their Faith; the Charity by which you support such Numbers of their Brethren in your Dominions, the Concern you have expressed for the pressures the French Churches labour under, and Zeal for their *Restoration* to their ancient Splendor, leave no Room to doubt of your Majesty's generous Intentions. And that Providence which watches over your sacred Person, and distinguishes your reign, by so many Exploits, both at home and abroad, from those of your

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The Dedication.

most glorious Ancestors, will, no doubt reward your Piety, and enable your Majesty to ease them of their Chains, after having broke those of *Europe*.

They would not thus presume to make their way through the Crowd of your Admirers, and disturb the Harmony of the Acclamation that surround your August Person, with the doleful Rehearsal of their Misery, did not your Majesty's known Goodness facilitate their Access, and your Love of Justice and Proneness to redress Grievances encourage their Presumption.

I am in particular Happy, in being so far Instrumental in their Future Deliverance, as to make their Case known to the best and greatest of Queens, and am proud that it furnishes me with an Opportunity of letting the World know that I am,

May it please your Majesty,

*Your Majesty's most faithful Subject,
and obedient humble Servant,*

John Bion

*Heretofore Chaplain to the Superbe Gallies
in the French Kings Service.*

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THE PREFACE.

AS I purposed in this Work, only to make the Sufferings of the Protestants condemned to the Gallies for the sake of Religion known to the World: People will be apt to think, that when I speak in general of the different Sorts of Forcats or Slaves, which are on them, I go besides the Rules I prescribed to my self. But, if it be considered, that it is no little Torment to the Protestants to be amongst Malefactors and lewd and profligate Villains, whose continual Blasphemies and Cursings have no paralel but among the damned in Hell, it will not be thought besides my purpose to have given to the World a particular Account of the various sorts of those Men who live in the Gallies.

There is besides a Block, those who never saw the Gallies but in the Port at Marseilles,

The Preface.

les, will infallibly stumble at, if not removed which is, that whereas the Galley Slaves are not during that time in that wretched Condition they are in, whilst at Sea and tugging at the Oar, being allowed to keep Shop about the Port, and there to work and sell all manner of Commodities : And sometime having leave to walk in the Town, giving only one Penny to the Algousin, as much to the Turk, with whom each of them must then be coupled, and five Pence to the Pertuisenier, or Partizan-bearer who guards them. There being some besides that even have their Wives at Marseilles, and all being permitted to hear from their Friends, and receive Money from their Relations ; all such Comforts and Favors, as well as all manner of Correspondence with Friends are utterly denied the Protestants.

I have not descended to particulars in what relateth to the Usefulness of Gallies in Sea-fights, for the keeping of the Coasts, or convoying of Merchants-sloops, when there is danger of their being taken or set upon by the Brigantines, the Duke of Savoy keeps commonly for that purpose, during the War in Villa Franca, St. Hospitio and Oneglia. Nor did I take Notice in this Work

The Preface.

how the Gallies in an Engagement, wherein there are Men of War, serve to keep off, and sink with their Cannon-shot out of the Courfier (a Gun so called) the Fire-ships the Enemy sendeth to set the Ship on Fire; and to tow away such as are disabled in the Fight. I might also have observed, how in every Galley there is Five Guns upon the Fore-deck, viz. four, six, or eight Pounders, and a fifth called the Courfier, which carryeth a six and thirty Pound Ball. And here, when an Enemies Ship is becalmed, a Galley, which with her Oars can do what she pleaseth, may attack that Ship Fore or Aft to avoid her Broadfides, and ply her with Courfier: So that sometimes if she happeneth to let her a shot which cometh between Wind and Water, she forceth her to surrender: Which however happeneth seldom enough; for a Ship needs but a little Wind to make nothing of overthrowing five or six Gallies.

I did not think fit neither to give here an account of the Number of Gallies in France, which is twenty four at Marseilles, and six upon the Ocean. Nor to speak of the six small Rooms in every Galley under the Deck, where Ammunition and Provisions are kept, and which they call the Gavon, the Scandclat, the

The Preface.

the Campaign, the Paillot, the Tavern and the Foreroom. All these particulars would have carried me too far out of my Way and besides my purpose, which is only to give a plain and faithful Account without amplifying, of the Sufferings of the Protestant Galley-slaves.

If there be any thing omitted in this Relation, 'twill not be found as to any material Point: And as my sole aim in it hath been to work a Fellow-feeling in other Mens Hearts I shan't find my self at all disappointed, although their Curiosity should not be fully satisfied. The Lord in his Mercy pour out Blessings upon this Work, and favourable hear our Prayers and Supplications, which shall never cease to make unto his Divine Majesty, for the Deliverance of our poor distressed Brethren.

An Account of the TORMENTS the French Protestants endure Aboard the GALLEYS. By John Bion, heretofore Priest and Curate of the Parish of Ursy in the Province of Burgundy, and Chaplain to the Superbe Galley in the French Service.

THE dismal Accounts handed down to us by Historians, of the Torments afflicted on Christians by the Heavens Emperors in the first Ages of the Church, might justly be suspected, if the woful Experience of our own, did not put the Truth of them out of Dispute. For tho' it be not easy to conceive how Men can put off all that is tender, and generous in their Natures, and degenerate into the ferity of Brutes, yet it is but looking on the World round us, and being convinc'd that they can even outdo their fellow Animals in cruelty to one another ; nay, we may see many professing Christianity, under the specious pretence

tence of Zeal for its Interest, committed such Barbarities as exceed, at least equal the Rage of the Persecutors of the Primitive Christians. History abounds in Instances that shew the Nature of a Spirit of Persecution, and how boundless its Rage and Fury; but the sad Effects it hath of late Years produc'd in *France*, and they are still fresh, and but too obvious are scarce to be parallel'd in any Age or Nation. All the World knows the *Protestants* there lived under the Protection of the Edict of *Nants*, a Treaty as full, and solemn as any ever was; it was at first religiously observed, but in time several Breaches were made in it; many of its Branches were by Degrees lopt off, till at last, under the present King, at the continual teizing, and sollicitation of the Jesuits, those restless, busy Insects, it was perfidiously broke, or as they please to term, repeal'd.

But Religion, and its Propagation must be the Cloak under which those crafty Silver-smiths intend to play their Game, and therefore having first confidently taught that the King hath a despotick Power over their Consciences, and

well as Estates, and consequently his Will
 the Rule of their Religion, they, by se-
 veral Arts, and Methods, but chiefly by
 dreadful Punishments, force weak People
 to play the Hypocrites, and embrace a
 Religion which in their Hearts they de-
 stest, such who were too good Christians
 to prostitute their Consciences to vile
 worldly Interests, are deny'd the Be-
 lieve of retiring into foreign Countries, and
 punish'd, if discovered, often with Death,
 reserv'd for more cruel Usage, and con-
 demn'd to spin out their wretched Lives
 in the Gallies.

Of these last I design to give the Pub-
 lick an Account, as being of all Men the
 most miserable. The Barbarities commit-
 ted in those horrid Machines, exceeding
 all that can possibly be imagin'd; the In-
 continuity of the famous *Sicilian* Tyrants in
 inventing Torments, deserves no longer
 to be proverbial, being far excell'd in this
 pernicious Art by the modern Enemies
 of Religion and Liberty. I shall endeavour to satisfy the Curio-
 sity of those, who desire to be informed of
 the Treatment the Slaves (and particu-
 larly the *Protestants*) in the Gallies meet
 with;

with ; and to convince such as are loath to harbour any hard Thoughts of the French Court, that justify its Proceedings by pretending, that what they suffer is not on the Account of Religion, but a just lawful Punishment for Rebellion, and Disobedience.

My being, several Campaigns, Chaplain aboard one of the Gallies, called *La Superbe*, gave me sufficient Opportunity of informing my self of the Truth of the following Relation ; and I hope my Integrity will not be called in question by any body that hears, that during my stay in that Service I never receiv'd the least disgust, or met with any Disobligation. The Certificates I have from *Monsieur Montolieu*, Chief Flag Officer of the French Gallies, and *Monsieur d'Autigny*, Captain of the aforesaid Gally, whose Chaplain I was, a Reward for my Service conferr'd on me by the French King, the Year 1704, at the Recommendation of *Monsieur de Pontchartrain*. Several good Offices done me by the General, and other Officers who knew me, will, I hope, screen me from the Suspicions, or Calumny of such, who through Malice, or pe-

aps Interest, might be inclin'd to misrepresent me.

Neither shall a blind Zeal for the Protestant Religion, which I have lately embrac'd, hurry me beyond the strict Bounds of Truth, or make me represent Things in many Colours but their own. I should be an unworthy Professor of that holy Religion, if on any Consideration I should the least deviate from the strictest Truth, to which end I shall relate nothing but hear-say, but like the Apostle, confine myself to those things my Eyes have seen. But before I proceed to shew the Sufferings and Misery the Wretches in the Gallies labour under, I shall give a short Description of that Vessel.

A Galley is a long flat one deckt Vessel, tho' it hath Two Masts, yet they generally make use of Oars, because they are built so as not to be able to endure a rough Sea, and therefore their Sails for the most part are useless, unless in cruising, when they are out of sight of Land, or then for fear of being surprized by ill weather they make the best of their way; there are five Slaves to every Oar, one of them a *Turk*, who being generally

stronger than Christians, are set at the upper end to work it with more strength there are in all three hundred Slaves, and an hundred and fifty Men, either Officers, Soldiers, Seamen, or Servants.

There is at the stern of the Galley Chamber shaped on the out side like a Cradle, belonging to the Captain, and solely his at Night, or in foul Weather but in the day time common to the Officers, and Chaplain; all the rest of the Crew (the under Officers excepted, who retire to other convenient Places) is exposed above Deck to the scorching rays of the Sun by Day, and the Damps, Inclemences of the Night: There is indeed a kind of a Tent suspended by a Cable, from Head to Stern, that affords some little shelter; but the Misfortune is that this is only when they can be without it, that is, in fair Weather; in the least Wind, or Storm, 'tis taken down, the Galley not being able to endure it for fear of oversetting. The Winters in *Anno 1703, 1704*, were on the Coasts of *Monaco, Nice, and Ant* those poor Creatures after hard rowing could not enjoy the usual Benefit of

Night, which puts an end to the fatigues
 and Labours of the Day, but were ex-
 pos'd to the Winds, Snow, Hail, and all
 other Inconveniences of that Season.
 The only Comfort they wish'd for, was
 the Liberty of Smoaking; but that on
 pain of the Bastinado, the usual Punish-
 ment of the Place is forbid.

The Vessel being but small, for the
 number, the Men consequently crouded
 the continual Sweat that streams down
 from their Bodies, whilst rowing, and
 the Scanty Allowance of Linnen, one
 may easily imagine breeds abundance of
 vermin; so that inspight of all the Care
 that can be taken, the Gallies swarm
 with Lice, &c. which nesting in the
 folds and Laps of their Clothes, relieve
 Night the Executioners who beat
 and torment by Day.

Their whole yearly Allowance for
 cloaths is Two Shirts made of the coar-
 se Canvass, and a little Jerkin of red
 serge, slit on each side up to their Arm-
 pits; the Sleeves are also open, and
 come not down so low as their Elbows,
 and every Three Years a kind of a coarse
 stock, and a little Cap to cover their

Heads, which they are obliged to ke
 close shaved as a Mark of Infamy. I
 stead of a Bed, they are allowed, f
 or well, only a Board a Foot and an h
 broad; and those who have the un
 tunate Honour of lying near the O
 cers, dare not presume (though torm
 ted with Vermin) to stir so much a
 hand for their Ease; for fear th
 Chain should rattle and awake any
 them, which would draw on them a
 punishment more severe than the biting
 those Insects. 'Tis hard to give an ex
 Description of the Pains and Labors
 Slaves undergo at Sea, especially dur
 a long Campaign. The Fatigue of
 ging at the Oar is extraordinary, o
 must rise to draw their Stroke, and
 back again almost on their Backs; i
 much, that in all Seasons, through
 continual and violent Motion of t
 Bodies, the Sweat trickles down t
 harra's'd Limbs; and for fear they sho
 fail (as they often do through Faintn
 there is a Gang-board (which runs t
 the middle of the Ship) on which
 constantly posted Three *Comites* (an
 fier somewhat like a Boatswain in

Majesty's Ships) who, whenever they find, or think that an Oar does not keep touch with the rest, without ever examining whether it proceeds from Weakness, or Laziness, they unmercifully exercise a tough Wand on the Man they suspect; which being long, is always felt by Two or Three of their innocent Neighbours, who being naked when they Row, each Blow imprints evident Marks of the Inhumanity of the Executioner: And that which adds to their Misery is, that they are not allowed the least Sign of Discontent, or Complaint, that small, and last Comfort of the Miserable; but must on the contrary endeavour with all their Might to exert the little Vigour that remains, and try by their Submission to pacify the Rage of those relentless *Tigres*, whose Strokes are commonly ushered in, and follow'd by a Volley of Oaths, and horrid Imprecations.

No sooner are they arriv'd in any Port, but their Work (instead of being at an End) is encreas'd, several laborious Things, previous to casting Anchor being expected from them; which in a Galley

Galley is harder than in a Ship. And as the *Comites* chief Skill is seen in dexterously casting Anchor, and that they think Blows are the Life and Soul of a Work, nothing is heard for some time Cries, and Lamentation ; and for Slaves Arms are busy in the execution of his Commands, his are daily exercised in lashing them.

To support their Strength under these Hardships, during the Campaign every Morning at Eight of the Clock they give each Man his Proportion of Bisket, of which indeed they have enough, and pretty good ; at Ten a Poringer with Soupe made with Oyl, Peas or Beans, often rotten, and commonly musty : I call it Soupe according to the use, though it be nothing but a little hot Water with about a dozen Peas or Beans, floating on the top ; and when on Duty, a Pichone of Wine, (a Measure containing about Two Thirds of an *English* Pint) Morning and Evening. When at Anchor in any Port, all who have any Money are allowed to buy Meat ; and the Turk that commands the Oar, and is not chain'd, is commonly

th

the Person employ'd for this purpose, is also to see it dress'd in the Cook-Room; but I have often seen the Captain's Cook, a brutal passionate Man, take the Poor Men's Pot, under pretence that it troubled him, and either break, or throw it over-board; whilst the poor Wretches were fainting for want of that little Refreshment, without daring so much as to murmur or complain. This indeed is not usual, but where the Cook happens to be a Villain, of which sort of Men there is plenty in the Gallies.

The Officers Table is well furnish'd both for Plenty and Delicacy; but this gives Slaves only a more exquisite Sense of their Misery, and seems to brave their Poverty and Hunger. We spent the Carnival 1704 in the Port of *Monaco*, our Officers frequently treated the Prince of that Place aboard the Galley; their Entertainments were splendid, Musick and all Things that could promote Mirth were procured; But who can express the Affliction of those poor Creatures, who had only a Prospect of Pleasure, and whilst others revelled at their Ease, were sinking under a Load of Chains, pinch'd with

With Hunger in their Stomachs, and nothing to support their dejected Spirit, nay, and what is worse, they are forced to add to the Pomp and Honour done by great Men who visit their Officers, in such a manner, as moves the Compassion of all who are not used to such dismal Solemnities. When a Person of Quality comes on Board, the *Comite* gives twice Notice with his Whistle. The first time they are all attentive and the second, the Slaves are obliged to salute (as they call it) three times not with a chearful Huzza, as in an English Man of War, but by howling in a piteous Tone, making a lamentable complaining Outcry.

When the Badness of the Weather hinders the Gallies from putting to Sea, such as have Trades work in the Galley; such as have none learn to knit coarse Stockings; the *Comite*, for whose Profit they work, gives them Yarn, and pays them about half the usual Price and this not in Money, but some like Victuals, or Wine, which they are obliged to take out of the Ships Cellar (in which the *Comite* is the Keeper) though

be generally bad, and dash'd with Water; for though they had as much Gold as they could carry, they durst not on Pain of a Bastinado, send for any Wine from the Shore. The most moving Spectacle of all is, to see the Poor Souls that have no Trade; they clean their Comrades Clothes, and destroy the Vermin that torments their Neighbours; who in turn, give them some small share of that scanty pittance they purchase by working.

One may imagine, that such ill Treatment, Diet, and Infection must needs occasion frequent Sicknes: In that case, their Usage is thus; there is in the Hold a close dark Room, the Air is admitted only by the Scuttle about Two Feet square, which is the only Passage they are at each end of the said Room, the fit of sort of a Scaffold called *Taular*, in which the Sick are laid promiscuously, each without Beds, or any Thing under'd, and when these are full, if there be any more, they are stretched all along the tables, as I saw in the Year 1703, when being on the Coast of *Italy*, in Winter time, we had above Threescore Sick Men:

Gen : In this horrid Place, all kind
 er in rule with an arbitrary Sway
 gnawing the poor sick Creatures with
 our Disturbance. When the Duties
 my Function call'd me in amongst them
 to confess, advise, or administer some
 Comfort, which was constantly twice
 Day, I was in an instant cover'd all over
 with them, it being impossible to pre-
 serve ones self from their Swarms ; the
 only way was to go in a Night Gown
 which I stript off when I came out, and
 by that means rid my self of them by
 putting on my Cloths ; but when I
 was in, methought I walked in a literal
 Sense, in the Shades of Death : I was
 ble to notwithstanding to make com-
 Stays in this gloomy Mansion
 Who such who were ready to expire
 hinder the whole space between the Ci-
 Sea, and the *Tauhar* being but Three
 Galle I was obliged to lye down and
 coast each my self along their sides, to hear
 their Confessions ; and often when
 was confessing one, another expir'd ju-
 by my side. Though this Relation may
 fall into the Hands of some nice Person
 yet I cannot omit this aggravating Cir-
 cumstance

circumstance ; which is, that they are de-
 priv'd of all Convenience of doing the
 Necessities of Nature, except a little
 Pail, always so nasty, that they are but
 little better for it, and are besides so weak
 that they are not able to go to it ; the
 Stench consequently is most intolerable,
 insomuch, that no Slave, tho' never so
 weak, but will rather chuse to tug at his
 Oar, and expire under his Chain, than
 retire to this loathsome Hospital. There
 is a Chirurgion to take care of the Sick,
 at the first setting out of the Galley ;
 the King lays in Drugs for the use of
 the Crew, which are always very good,
 and therefore the Chirurgions makes
 Mony of them in the several Places we
 arrive at, so that the Persons they are
 attended for, have the least benefit of
 them.

During Sickness, the King orders each
 Man in the Room we have described, a
 pound of fresh Bread, and the same
 quantity of fresh Meat, and two Oun-
 ces of Rice a Day. This is the Steward's
 province, and he discharges his Office
 in such a manner, that Five or Six Cam-
 paigns make his Fortune : We have fre-

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quently

quently had in our Gally Threescore and Ten Sick Men, and the quantity of Flesh allow'd for that number never exceeded Twenty Pound weight, and that bad Meat too; tho' (as I have observed) the King's allowance is one Pound for every Man, the rest going into his own Pocket. Once out of Curiosity I tasted it, and found it little better than hot Water. I complain'd to the Chirurgion and Steward, but being great, and *Comensales*, they connive at one another. I complain'd to the Officers also, but for what Reason (I only guess) they did not regard me, and I have too much Respect for the Captain, to say that he had any Reason or Interest to wink at so great a piece of Injustice; tho' he could by his own Authority do these Wretches justice, who often refused that Water made only more loathsome by the little Quantity of Meat put into it, and the little Care used about it. I enquired of other Chaplains, whether the same was practised aboard their Gallies, they frankly confest it was, but dur'd own no more.

After the Campaign of 1704, I having

occu-

occasion to go to *Versailles*, I thought myself oblig'd when there, to give an Account to Monsieur de Pontchartrin one of the King's Ministers, whose peculiar Province the Sea Affairs are; I offer'd him a short Memorial, and some Advices which I thought most proper to prevent the like Abuses for the future: He was pleas'd to be so well satisfied, and found them so agreeable to some Intimations given him before, that he regarded my Advice, and offer'd me his Interest: The King was pleas'd to order me a Gratuity; I left the warrant with Monsieur *Thome*, Treasurer General of the Gallies, living at the *Marias du Temple*, to serve as an Acquittance for the several Payments he has made me.

This is a brief Account of the Galley, and the Government thereof. I now proceed to show what sort of People are condemned there.

There are in a Galley five several sorts of People, under the Notion of Slaves, besides Seamen and Soldiers, viz. Turks, such as are called Deserters, Criminals, and Protestants. The King buys the *Turks* to manage

the stroke of the Oars, as I have already shewn, and they are called *Vogueavants* and they together with such as are on the Seats called *Banc du quartier de la conille & les espalliers*, have the same Allowance with the Soldiers; they are generally lusty strong Men, and the least unfortunate of the whole Crew; they are not chain'd but only they wear a Ring on their Foot as a Badge of Slavery. When they arrive at any Port they have Liberty to Trade, some of them are worth three or four Hundred Pounds; they frequently send Money to their Wives and Families, and to the Shame of Christians be it spoken, there is a great deal more Charity among them than is to be found amongst us. I had taken one called *Tripoli* for my Servant, he was a most religious observer of his Law; during the *Romadam* (a Fast kept by them the first Moon of the Year) he never eat, nor drank from Sun rising to Sun setting; in spite of all the toil and fatigue of the Oar, he never seem'd uneasy, tho' ready to faint through Weakness; I could never so much as persuade him to take a little Wine, tho' I have often urged him merely out of Compassion.

The

The Officers made use of no other Ser-
 vants, and they are so trusty that they are
 never found out in any Theft, or Rogue-
 ry. If any by chance commit a Fault,
 all the Turks importune their respective
 Masters to intercede for him with the
 Captain. If any be sick, they are all bu-
 sie about him to do him all the kind Of-
 fices in their Power; they club to buy
 him Meat, or to purchase any thing that
 may refresh him, or do him good. In
 short, in the Gallies one would think that
 the *Turks* and the Christians had made an
 Exchange of Principles, and that the lat-
 ter had abjured the Precepts of their Sa-
 viour, and that the others had taken them
 up, and accordingly preach up Christ to
 a *Turk* in the Gallies, and his answer pre-
 sently is, that he had rather be transfor-
 med into a Dog, than be of a Religion
 that countenances so much barbarity, and
 suffers so many Crimes.

I cannot omit one remarkable Instance
 of their Constancy, and firm adherence
 to their Religion; one of them who spoke
French fell Sick, I found him stretch'd on
 the Cable in the Place I have already de-
 scribed, I had done him some Services,

and seeing me do the Duties of my Function to some of his Neighbours, he called me to him, bid me farewell, telling me, that he found he could not possibly live four Hours longer: I ventured to talk to him of God, our Saviour Christ, the Principles of his Religion, and told him, that through him alone he was to expect Salvation; I found what I said made some Impression, whereupon I embraced him, and told him I would answer for his Soul if he would renounce *Mahomet*, who was but an Impostor, and believe in Jesus Christ the only Redeemer and Saviour of Mankind, whose holy and excellent Doctrine he had heard me so often preach. He told me then he would do what I thought fit. I answered, that all that I desired was his Consent to receive Baptism, without which, I told him, he could expect no Salvation; I explain'd in a few Words the Nature and Design of it, and having induc'd him to consent, I went for some Water, and secretly told the Captain what had happened, but unluckily another *Turk*, a Friend of his, who also understood *French*, and had heard all that had past, whilst I was

away,

away, said something to my Profelyte in his own Language, so that by the time I came back he had quite alter'd his Resolution in such wise, that I could by no means perswade him to perform the Promise he made me. Nay, his Friend threw himself over him, and exhorted him to continue true to the Prophet *Mahomet*, in spite of the *Comite* who was present, and threatned severely to beat him if he desisted not; he prevailed in despite of all, for the Poor Wretch dyed in my Presence in his Error. Had I understood Religion as well as I do now, I should not in that Extremity have insisted so much on the absolute Necessity of Baptism, but having given him a general Notion of the Principles of Christian Religion, I should have admonish'd him to Repentance, and to implore the divine Mercy for Pardon of his Sins through the Merits of Christ, and so in saving his Soul from Death, I should have hid a multitude of my own Sins. The Reader, I hope, will excuse my former Error.

Tho' as appears from what hath been said, the *Turks* on the Galleys are treated somewhat better than the *Christians*; and tho'

tho' they be in no wise molested on the Score of Religion (for whilst Mafs is saying they are put into the Caique, or Long-boat, where they divert themselves by smoaking, and talking) yet there is not one of them but would give all the World to be at his Liberty, for the very Name of a Galley is terrible to them; because, notwithstanding their Treatment is pretty easy, yet they are Slaves during Life, unless when they are very Old, and unserviceable, they meet with Friends who are willing to lay out a large Sum of Money for their Ransom, which shews how little those Persons are acquainted with the Affairs of that Nature, who say that there are in the Gallies Men who would not accept of their Freedom tho' it were offered them; 'tis just like talking of a Battle which one never saw, unless at a great Distance, or knows nothing of but by hearsay.

Those who are called *Faussoniers* are generally poor Peasants who are found out to buy Salt in such Provinces where it is cheap; such as is the County of *Burgundy*, or the County of *Dombe*; in *France* what they call a pint of Salt, weighing four

four Pound, costs 3 s. 6 d. There are some poor Peasants, and their whole Families, who for want of Salt eat no Soupe sometimes in a whole Week, tho' it be their common Nourishment; a Man in that case grieved to see his Wife and Children in a starving languishing Condition, ventures to go abroad to buy Salt in the Provinces where it is three parts in four cheaper; if discovered, he is certainly sent to the Gallies. 'Tis a very melancholy sight to see a Wife and Children lament their Father whom they see loaden with Chains, and irrecoverably lost, and that for no other Crime but endeavouring to procure Subsistence for those to whom he gave Birth. These indeed are condemned only for a time, perhaps five, six, or eight Years, but the Misfortune is, that having served out their Time, if they outlive it, they are still unjustly detained; for Pennance or Masses avail nothing in this Purgatory, Indulgences are excluded, especially if the Man be unfortunately strong and robust, let his Sentence be what it will. The King's Orders are, that when the time of the Sentence is expired, they should be set at Liberty, and sent

sent home; but in this, as in many other cases, his Orders are not duly put in Execution, which indeed does not excuse him, since a good Prince is obliged to have an Eye on the Administration of his Ministers and Officers.

As for Deserters, their Sentence runs during Life, formerly they us'd to cut off their Nose, and Ears, but because they stunk, and commonly infected the whole Crew, they only now give them a little Slit. Tho' these are inexcusable, because Desertion is upon several accounts dangerous, and base; yet it moves ones Pity to see young Men, who often happen to descend from good Families, condemned to so wretched and so miserable a Life.

Such who are condemned for Crimes are generally *Filons*, Sharpers, Rookes, or High-way-men; the most notorious Villains are least daunted, and take heart soonest, they presently strike up a Friendship with those of their own Gang; they tell over their old Rogueries, and boast of their Crimes, and the greatest Villain passes for the greatest Hero. The Misery they have reduc'd themselves to, is far from working any Amendment, the

makes them more desperate and wicked, insomuch, that if any Stranger chances to come aboard, tho' it were but an Handkerchief, or some such trifle, they will certainly steal it if they can. Their common Employment is to forge Titles, to engrave false Seals, and counterfeit Hand-writing, and these they sell to others as bad as themselves that often come sometime after to bear them Company: But tho' they feel no remorse, yet they feel the *Comite*, who with a Rope's-end often visits their Shoulders; but when instead of complaining they vomit out Oaths and Blasphemies enough to make a Man's Hair stand an end. There was one, who shewing me the Mark the Rope had made about his Neck, brag'd that though he had escap'd the Gallows he was not thereby grown a Coward; that as soon as ever he had been at Liberty, he had rob'd the first Person he met with; and that having been taken and brought before a Judge, who knew him not, he had been only condemned to the Gallies, where, he thanked God, he was sure of Bread and good Company the Remainder of his Days. 'Tis certain,

tain, that how terrible and hard soever the Usage of such may be in the Gallies yet it is too mild for them; for in spight of all the Misery they endure, they are guilty of Crimes too abominable to be here related; over which we shall draw a Veil, and go on to the Protestants who are there purely because they chose rather to obey God than Man, and were not willing to exchange their Souls for the Gain of the World. It is not the least aggravating Circumstance of their Misery to be condemned to such hellish Company, they who have so great a value for the Truth of Religion, as to prefer it to their worldly Interest, must be supposed to be endued with too much Vertue not to be in Pain, and under Concern for the open breach of its Rules and Unworthiness of its Professors.

The *Protestants* now on the Gallies have been condemn'd thither at several times, the first were put in after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*; the term prefix'd for the fatal Choice of whether abjuring their Religion, or leaving the Kingdom was a Fortnight, and that upon pain of being condemned to the Gallies:

Galleys: But this Liberty by many base Artifices and unjust Methods was rendered useless, and of none effect; there were often secret Orders by the contrivance of the Clergy, to prevent their embarking, and hinder the selling of their Substance; their Debtors were absolved by their Confessors when they delivered a Debt; Children were forced from their Fathers and Mothers Arms, in hopes that the Tenderneſs of the Parent might prevail over the Zeal of the Christian. They indeed were not massacred as in *Herod's* Time, but the Blood of their Fathers was mingled with their Tears: For many Ministers who had Zeal and Constancy enough to brave the severest punishments, were broken alive upon Wheels without Mercy, when ever surprized discharging the Duties of their Function. The Registers and Courts of Justice where the Sentences were pronounced against them are recorded, and the Executioners of them are lasting Monuments of the bloody Temper and Avarice of Popery.

The Laity were forbid, on Pain of being put into the Galleys, leaving the Kingdom on any

ny pretence whatsoever ; but what Posterity will scarce believe, the Protestants of all Sexes, Ages, and Conditions used to fly through Deserts, and wild impracticable Ways ; they committed their Lives to the Mercy of the Seas, and run innumerable Hazards, to avoid either Idolatry or Martyrdom. Some escaped very happily in spite of the Vigilance of the Dragoons and Bailiffs, but a great many fell into their Hands ; the Prisons were fill'd with Confessors ; but the saddest Spectacle of all was, to see two hundred Men at a time chain'd together going to the Gallies, and above one hundred of that Number Protestants ; and what was barbarous and unjust to the last Degree was, that they were oblig'd, when there, on pain of Bastinado, to bow before the Host, and to hear Mass ; and yet that was the only Crime for which they had been condemn'd thither. For suppose they were in the wrong, in obstinately refusing to change their Religion, the Gallies were the Punishment ; why then were they required to do that which had been the Cause of their Condemnation ? Especially since there

there is a Law in *France*, that positively forbids a double Punishment for one and the same Fault, *viz.* (*non bis punitur in idem.*) But in *France*, properly speaking, there is no Law where the King's Commands are absolute and peremptory: I have seen a general Bastinado on that account, which I shall describe in its proper Place. 'Tis certain that though there was at first a very great Number of *Protestants* condemned to the Gallies, the Bastinado and other Torments hath destroy'd above three parts of four, and the most of those who are still alive are in Dungeons; as *Monsieurs Banfillion, de Serres, and Sabatier*, who are confin'd to a Dungeon at *Chasteau D'If* (a Fort built upon a Rock in the Sea, three Miles from *Marseilles*). But the Generous Constancy of this last, about eight or ten Months ago, deserves a Place in this History, and challenges the admiration of all true *Protestants*.

Monsieur Sabatier, whose Charity and Zeal equals that of the Primitive Christians; having a little Money, distributed it to his Brethren and Fellow-sufferers in the Gallies; but the *Protestants* being

watch'd more narrowly than the rest, he
 could not do it so secretly, but he was
 discovered, and brought before Monsieur
de Monmort, Intendant of the Gallies at
Marseilles: being ask'd, he did not deny
 the Fact; Monsieur *Mormort* not only pro-
 mised him his Pardon, but a Reward if
 he would declare who it was that had gi-
 ven him that Money. Monsieur *Sabatier*
 modestly answered that he should be guilty
 of Ingratitude before God and Man,
 if by any Confession he should bring them
 into Trouble who had been so charitable
 to him; that his Person was at his dispos-
 al, but he desir'd to be excus'd as to the
 Secret expected from him. The Inten-
 dant reply'd, he had a way to make him
 tell, and that immediately: Whereupon
 he sent for some *Turks*, who at his Com-
 mand stript *Sabatier* stark naked, and beat
 him with Ropes ends and Cudgels, during
 three Days, at several times; and seeing
 this did not prevail over this generous
 Confessor, he himself (which never hap-
 pen'd to an Intendant before) turn'd Exe-
 cutioner, striking him with his Cane, and
 telling the By-standers, *See what a Devil
 of Religion this is.* These were his own
 pressions.

pressions, as is credibly reported by Persons that were present. The Gazets and publick Letters gave us an account of the same. At last seeing he was ready to expire, he commanded him into a Dungeon, where, maugre all Torments, Providence hath preserved him to this Day.

But though most of the *Protestants* of the first date are destroy'd, yet the Wars in the *Cevennes* have furnished them with more than enough to fill the vacant Places. These Wars may be properly call'd a second Persecution, because the Cruelty and inveterate Malice of a Popish Priest was the Occasion, and first Cause of them.

One of the most bitter and passionate Enemies of the *Protestants* was the Abbot *du Chelas*, whose Benefice was in the *Cevennes*; he kept an exact Account of the *Protestants* in his District, and whenever he mist them at Mass, he us'd to send for them under some Pretence or other to his House, and us'd to make his Servants tie them (whether Men, Women or Maidens) to a Tree, strip'd down to their Waste, and then with Horse-whips, scourged them till the Blood gush'd out. This the Papists themselves do not deny, who own that this *du Chelas*

was an ill Man, and yet this his Proceeding against the *Protestants* being meritorious at Court, he had Encouragement to hope for a Reward: But at last, his *Protestant* Neighbours perceiving that there was no hopes of pacifying this Monster by Submission and fair means, grew desperate, and one Night invested his House. He leaped out of his Window into his Garden, but not being able to get out he begg'd Quarter; but as he had never granted any they served him in his kind, by killing him; and because they were sure of being pursued they kept the Country, and by Degrees their Numbers encreas'd; all that were tormented for not going to Mass made a Body and joined them: God bless'd their Arms with Success for some time, but for good Reasons no doubt, tho' unknown to us, he at last gave them up into the Hands of their Enemies, and not only them, but the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countries, as the *Viverrois*, and *Langue-doc*: And the bare Suspicion of being in their Interest, those with whom Arms were found, those who refus'd to frequent the Mass were either hang'd with

broken

broken on the Wheel: That pretended Rebellion was made use of as a Pretence to send to the Gallies several rich *Protestant* Merchants. There is since that time, a Gentleman, Monsieur *Salgas* by Name, who before the repealing of the Edict of *Nantes*, enjoy'd a plentiful Estate in the *Cervennes*; in order to keep it he abjur'd his Religion, and promised to go to *Mafs*; his Spouse, a worthy Lady, with whom I have often convers'd at *Geneva*, where she now lives, refused, and generously rejected all Proposals on that Subject. Seeing they threatned her with a Cloister, she endeavour'd to gain time; but at last her Husband told her, that there was a positive Order from Court to confine her if she did not comply and go to *Mafs*. This couragious Lady, who deserves to be a Pattern of Piety and Zeal to Posterity, having by Prayer, and other Acts of Devotion, implored the divine Assistance, resolves to quit her Country, her Husband, Children and Estate, and all that is dear and precious here below: She took her Opportunity one Day when her Husband was gone a hunting, without communicating any thing of her de-

design to any body, but to such who were instrumental in her Escape. She retired to *Geneva*, where she might have Liberty to make an open Profession of her Religion, and bemoan the Misfortune of her Family.

Sometime after the Wars of the *Catholicks* broke out, Monsieur de *Salgas* was accused of assisting the *Camisars* with Provision; and in spite of his Hypocrisy and pretended Zeal for his new Religion, he was sent to the Galleys. But here we must admire the Wisdom of Providence, very remarkable in this Dispensation, for this has prov'd the means to open his own Eyes, and to let him see his Error, as appears from the penitential Letters he writes to his Friends, his Christian-like Behavior under his sufferings, his Exhortations to his Fellow-sufferers, the noble and pious Example he shews them. He hath had frequent Offers made him, of being restor'd to his Estates on the same Conditions he had preserved it before, but he hath hitherto been proof against all their Attempts. He was some Years ago put into the Hospital-general for the Galleys at *Marseilles*. This is a

kind

kind of Manufactory, where their Treatment is somewhat easier than in the Gallies; but at the Siege of *Thoulon*, he, and all his Brethren, were taken out of that Hospital and reduc'd to their old Station and former miserable Condition; besides losing a Dozen or Fourteen *Louis* & Or, which he had procur'd, to purchase such Necessaries as might keep up, and support his Spirits under the Hardships he endured. This Account came to *Geneva* to his Lady while I was there, who is, as one may easily imagine, under an unexpressible Concern for the Miseries her Husband groans under.

But it is time to bring this sad Relation to a Conclusion, in order whereunto, I shall, according to my Promise, give an Account of the general Bastinado at which I was present, and it was not the least means of my Conversion. God grant it may be effectual to my Salvation.

In the Year 1703, several Protestants out of *Languedoc* and the *Cevennes* were put on Board our Galley; they were narrowly watch'd and observed, and I was mightily surpriz'd one Sunday Morning

ing, after saying Mass on the *Banquet*
 a Table so placed, all in the Galley may
 see the Priest when he elevates the Host
 to hear the *Comite* say, he was going
 give the Huguenots the *Bastinado* because
 they did not kneel, nor shew any Re-
 spect to the Mysteries of the Mass; and
 that he was going to acquaint the Cap-
 tain therewith. The very Name of *B-*
stinado terrify'd me, and though I had
 never seen this dreadful Execution,
 begg'd the *Comite* to forbear till the next
Sunday, that in the mean time I would
 endeavour to convince them of what
 then thought their Duty, and mine own.
 Accordingly I us'd all the means I could
 possibly think of to that effect, some-
 times making use of fair means, giving
 them Viſuals, and doing them other
 good Offices; sometimes using Threats
 and representing the Torments that were
 design'd them, and often urging the
 King's Command; and quoting the Pro-
 sage of St. Paul, that he who resists
 higher Powers, resists God. I had not
 that time any Design to oblige them
 do any thing against their Conscience.
 I must confess that what I did at the

time, chiefly proceeded from a Motive
 of Pity and Tenderness; this was the
 Cause of my Zeal, which had been
 more fatal to them, had not God endu-
 ed them with Resolution and Virtue suf-
 ficient to bear up against my Arguments,
 and the terrible Execution they had in
 view. I could not but admire at once
 both the Modesty of their Answers, and
 Greatness of their Courage; *The King,*
say they, is indeed Master of our Bodies,
but not of our Consciences; at last the
 dreadful Day being come, the Commis-
 sioners narrowly observ'd them to see the Fruit
 of my Labors; there were only two out
 of Twenty that bowed their Knee to
scat, the rest generously refus'd it, and
 were accordingly, by the Captains
 Command, served in the manner fol-
 lowing.

Here, like another *Aeneas*, with re-
 gret calling to mind the Miseries and
 ruin of his own Country, the very Me-
 mory whereof struck his Soul with Hor-
 ror, I may truly say, *Infandum Regimen*
res renovare Dolorem.

In order to the Execution, every Man's
 chains were taken off, and they were
 put

put into the hands of four *Turks* who strip them stark naked, and stretch them upon the *Coursier*, (that great Gun we have described in the Preface) there they are held that they cannot so much as stir, during that time there is a horrid Silence throughout the whole Galley; 'tis cruel a Scene that the most profligate and obdurate Wretches cannot bear the sight, but are forc'd to turn away their Eyes. The Victim thus prepar'd, the *Turk* pitch'd upon to be the Executioner, with a tough Cudgel, or knotty Ropes-end unmercifully beats the poor Wretch, and that too the more willingly, because he thinks that it is acceptable to his Prophet *Mahomet*; but the most barbarous of all is, that after the Skin is flea'd off their Bones, the only Balsam they apply to their Wounds, is a mixture of Vinegar and Salt; after this, they are thrown into the Hospital already described; I went thither after the Execution, and could not refrain from Tears at the sight of so much barbarity; they quickly perceived it, and tho' scarce able to speak through pain and weakness, they thank me for the Compassion I express, and detain

Kindness I had always shewn them. I went with a design to administer some comfort, but I was glad to find them more moved than I was my self. It was wonderful to see with what true Christian Patience and Constancy they bore their Torments; in the Extremity of their Pain never expressing any thing like rage, but calling upon Almighty God, and imploring his Assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I did, my Conscience upbraided me for persisting so long in a Religion, whose Capital Errors I long before perceiv'd, and above all that, inspir'd so much Cruelty; Temper directly opposite to the Spirit of Christianity: At last their Wounds, and so many Mouths preach'd to me, made me sensible of my Error, and experimentally taught me the Excellency of the *Protestant Religion*.

But it is high time to conclude, and draw a Curtain over this horrid Scene, which presents us with none but ghastly sights, and Transactions full of Barbarity and Injustice, but which all shew how false what they pretend in *France* is, for detaining the Protestants in the Galleys,

viz. that they do not suffer there
 a religious, but a civil Account; be-
 condemned for Rebellion and Dis-
 dience; the Punishments inflicted
 them, when they refuse to adore
 Host, the Rewards and Advantages of-
 red them on their compliance in
 particular, are a sufficient Argumen-
 gainst them, there being no such O-
 made to such who are condemned
 Crimes. It shews the World also
 most incredible Barbarity used aga-
 the *French* Protestants, and at the
 time sets off in a most glorious man-
 their Virtue, Constancy, and Zeal
 their holy Religion.

FINIS.

K. Charles II's Declaration.

the Court at *Hampton-Court* the
28th Day of *July* 1681.

Present

the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*

Lord President

Lord Privy Seal

Earl of *Clarendon*

Earl of *Bathe*

Earl of *Craven*

Earl of *Halifax*

Earl of *Conway*

Lord Viscount *Fauconberg*

Lord Viscount *Hyde*

Lord Bishop of *London*

Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. *Seymour*

Mr. *Godolphin*.

HIS Majesty by his Order
 Council of the One and
 Twentieth of *July* instant, having
 been graciously pleased to refer a Me-
 morial presented to His Majesty
 behalf of the distressed Protestants
 abroad, to the Consideration of the
 Right Honourable the Lords Com-
 mittees of this Board for Trade and
 Plantations, with Directions to re-
 port their Opinion thereupon; And
 their Lordships having this Day made
 their Report to His Majesty in Coun-
 cil, His Majesty upon due Consider-
 ration thereof had, was pleased to de-
 clare, that He holds himself obliged
 in Honour and Conscience to comfort
 and support all such afflicted Prote-
 stants, who by Reason of the Rigours
 and Severities which are us'd towards
 them, upon the Account of their Re-
 ligion, shall be forced to quit their
 Native Country, and shall desire to
 shelter themselves under His Majesty's
 Royal

Royal Protection, for the Preservation
 and free Exercise of their Religion;
 And in order hereunto His Majesty
 was pleas'd further to declare, that
 he will grant unto every such distres-
 sed Protestant, who shall come hither
 for Refuge, and reside here, His Let-
 ters of Denization under the Great
 Seal, without any Charge whatsoever,
 and likewise such further Privileges
 and Immunities as are consistent with
 the Laws, for the Liberty and free
 Exercise of their Trades and Handi-
 crafts; And that His Majesty will
 likewise recommend it to His Parlia-
 ment at their next Meeting, to pass an
 Act for the general Naturalization of
 all such Protestants as shall come over
 as aforesaid, and for the further en-
 larging their Liberties and Franchises
 granted to them by His Majesty, as
 reasonably may be necessary for them.
 And for their Encouragement, His
 Majesty is likewise pleased to grant

unto them, that they shall pay the greater Duties in any Case than His Majesty's own natural born Subjects, and that they shall have all the Privileges and Immunities that generally His Majesties Native Subjects have for the Introduction of their Children into Schools and Colleges.

And His Majesty was likewise pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered accordingly, that all His Majesties Officers, both Civil and Military, do give a kind Reception to all such Protestants as shall arrive with Brieves in any of His Majesties Ports in this Kingdom, and to furnish them with free Pass-ports, and give them all Assistance and Furtherance in their Journeys to the Places to which they shall desire to go. And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasury are to give Orders to the Commissioners of His Majesties Customs, to suffer the

y^e the said Protestants to pass free with
 their Goods and Householdstuff, whe-
 ther of a greater or a smaller Value,
 together with their Tools and Instru-
 ments belonging to their Crafts, or
 Trades, and generally all what be-
 longs to them that may be imported
 according to the Laws now in force,
 without exacting any thing from
 them. And for the further Relief and
 Encouragement of the said necessitous
 Protestants, His Majesty hath been
 pleased to give Order for a general
 Brief through His Kingdom of Eng-
 land, Dominion of Wales, and Town
 of Berwick, for collecting the Cha-
 rity of all well disposed Persons, for
 the Relief of the said Protestants, who
 may stand in need thereof. *And to*
the End that when any such come over
being Strangers, they may know where
to address themselves to fitting Persons,
to lay their Requests and Complaints
before His Majesty: His Majesty was
gratified

graciously pleased to appoint the most
 Reverend Father in God, His Grace
 the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,
 and the Right Reverend Father in
 God, the Lord Bishop of London, or
 either of them, to receive all the said
 Requests and Petitions, and to pre-
 sent the same to His Majesty, to the
 End such Order may be given therein
 as shall be necessary.

PHILLOID

London, Printed by the Assigns of
 John Bill, Thomas Newcome,
 and Henry Hills, Printers to the
 Kings most Excellent Majesty.
 1681.

By the King and Queen, a Declaration. For the Encouraging of French Protestants to Transport themselves into this Kingdom.

William R.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to deliver Our Realm of England, and the Subjects thereof, from the Persecution lately threatening them for their Religion, and from the Oppression and Destruction which the Subversion of their Laws, and the Arbitrary Exercise of Power and Dominion over them had very near introduced; We finding in our Subjects a True and Just Sense hereof,

of, and of the Miseries and Oppressions the *French* Protestants lye under; For their Relief, and to Encourage them that shall be willing to Transport themselves, their Families and Estates, into this Our Kingdom; We do hereby Declare, That all *French* Protestants that shall seek their Refuge in, and Transport themselves into this Our Kingdom, shall not only have our Royal Protection for themselves, Families and Estates, within this Our Realm, but We will also do Our Endeavour in all reasonable Ways and Means so to Support, Aid and Assist them in their severall and Respective Trades and Ways of Livelihood, as that their living and being in this Realm, may be comfortable and easie to them.

Given

[49]

*Given at our Court at Whitehall
this 25th Day of April, 1689.
In the first Year of our Reign.
God save the King and Queen.*

L O N D O N,

*Printed by Charles Bill and Thomas
Newcomb, Printers to the King
and Queen's most excellent Ma-
jesties 1689.*

Printed by Charles Bell and Thomas
Newcomb, Printers to the King
and Queen's most excellent Ma-
jesty 1689.

L O N D O N

